



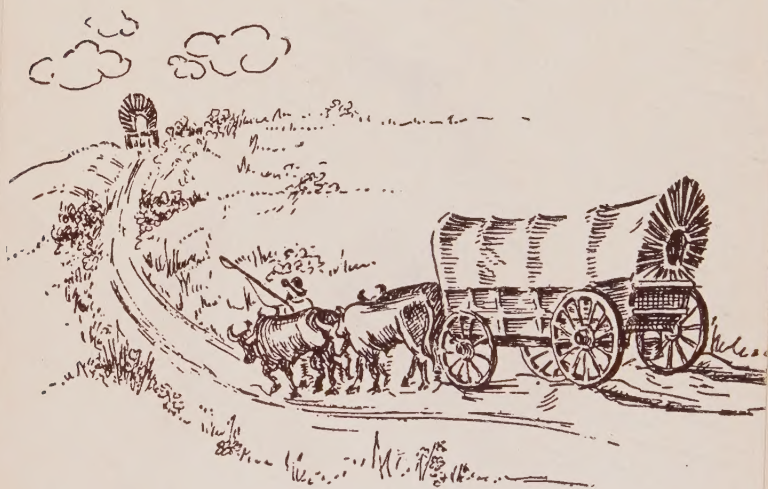
THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

RALPH H. GABRIEL
ARTHUR E. DARLING



BASED ON THE
CHRONICLES OF AMERICA
ALLEN JOHNSON
EDITOR

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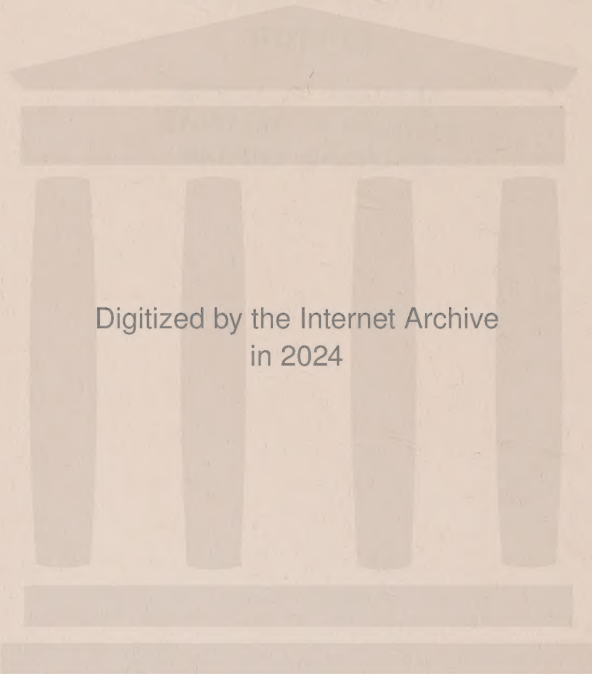
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME

THE CHRONICLES
OF AMERICA SERIES

ALLEN JOHNSON

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BASED ON
THE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA

BY RALPH H. ^{ENRICH}GABRIEL
AND ARTHUR B. DARLING



NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
TORONTO: GLASGOW, BROOK & CO.
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1924

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PREFACE

This outline has been prepared for the use of the person who wishes to become familiar with the story of his country. It is intended to serve as a guide to enable him more clearly to trace the various phases in the development of the American people and to understand the relations of one phase to another. The outline may be used as a whole to study the history of the nation in its entirety or chapters may be selected to acquire a special knowledge, for example, of American foreign affairs. References are in the main to complete chapters so that the student can get the author's full thought. Page references are given in Arabic notation.

The authors are grateful to Mr. Frederick Manning for cooperation in the preparation of the chronology and to Professor Allen Johnson for a critical reading of the manuscript.

R. H. G.

A. B. D.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

CONTENTS

I. A NEW WORLD	Page	1
II. THE BEGINNINGS OF A NATION	"	7
III. RIVALS OF THE ENGLISH FOR MASTERY OF THE CONTINENT	"	24
IV. THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE	"	30
V. OCCUPATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY	"	37
VI. CREATION AND INTERPRETATION OF A CONSTITUTION	"	46
VII. PROTEST AGAINST EUROPEAN DOMINANCE	"	51
VIII. POLITICS AND PARTISANS	"	58
IX. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW NATIONALISM	"	65
X. SECTIONALISM AND JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY	"	79
XI. COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND THE TARIFF TO THE CIVIL WAR	"	94
XII. THE NATIONAL BANK, FINANCE AND THE EARLY RAILROADS	"	107

XIII.	APPROPRIATION OF THE CONTINENT	Page 1
XIV.	THE RISE OF SECTIONAL STRIFE	" 1
XV.	THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES	" 1
XVI.	THE RISE OF BIG BUSINESS	" 1
XVII.	THE CONSEQUENCES OF INDUS- TRIALISM	" 1
XVIII.	THE NEW SECTIONALISM	" 1
XIX.	THE PUBLIC INTEREST PARAMOUNT	" 2
XX.	THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER	" 2
XXI.	OUR NEIGHBORS	" 2
XXII.	CHRONOLOGY	" 2

THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

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THE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA

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CHAPTER I

A NEW WORLD

UNKNOWN to the men of mediæval Europe two virgin continents lay on the far side of the world. Norse adventurers had probably touched the northern continent at the beginning of the Eleventh Century, but their voyages did not lead to the spread of European settlement to the New World. In the year 1492 an Italian dreamer sailing in the service of the rising kingdom of Spain discovered America. But Columbus never knew that he had come upon a vast continent whose wide plains and tumbled mountain masses concealed a fabulous wealth which was to belong to

2 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

future settlers from Europe, but which lay practically untouched by a primitive race that had not yet passed beyond the Stone Age.

The American Indian had made some remarkable advances toward civilization. The Iroquois in North America had developed a political organization that extended their power far and wide. The Mayas in Central America had evolved a written language and a calendar of great accuracy. They had erected buildings massive and beautiful, without the aid of beasts of burden or iron implements. It was a surprising achievement; yet the greater wonder is that the American Indians, in the midst of a wealth of natural resources which was to astound the Old World, had not accomplished more. Organized in simple tribes and tiny nations, they were totally unprepared to cope with the aggressive Europeans, throwing off the lethargy of the middle ages. They stumbled upon America while searching for better avenues to the riches of the Orient, but amazed by discovery of a New World, they remained to appropriate for themselves the birth-right of the natives.

Close upon the pioneer voyages of Columbus, other explorers and conquerors penetrated the

wilderness of the Americas for the glory of Spain and the Church, overthrew the empires of Aztecs and Incas, and stamped the Spanish imprint upon the southern half of the hemisphere. While Spanish authority was spreading from Florida and Mexico through Central and South America to the wilds of Patagonia, other European nations did not stand idly by. For imperial France, Cartier laid claim to the region of the Saint Lawrence. Huguenot settlers tried to gain a foothold in Florida. The great Champlain placed the foundations of a New France in Acadia and Quebec. For England, the Venetian Cabot discovered Labrador. British buccaneers, Hawkins and Drake, harried the Spaniard on western seas, and the great Raleigh attempted to create a replica of Elizabethan England in the New World. With the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the power of the Spaniard to dispute the advances of Englishman and Frenchman was broken. They now faced each other in a prolonged struggle for mastery of North America.

The Geographical Background

Climate and man

The Norseman

Structure of the land

Soil and vegetation

(The Chronicles of America)

Volume 1, Chapter I

" " II, III

" " IV

4 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The American Indian Volume 1, Chapter V

Culture and contrasts in type

Maya, Iroquois, Eskimo, Pacific Coast Indians, and
Indians of the Great Plains

The European Background Volume 2, Chapter I

Geographical ideas

The Islands of the Atlantic

Legends of Prester John

Tales of Marco Polo

Discovery " " II

The early career of Columbus

Influences upon Columbus

Toscanelli and Behaim

Chance voyages

Pinzon

The court of Ferdinand and Isabella

Preparations for the voyage

The voyage of 1492

Rival Spanish and Portuguese claims " " Page 78

The fate of Columbus

Subsequent voyages

Death in poverty

The name America " " Pages 65-66

Spanish Exploration and Colonization

Balboa and the Pacific 1513

Magellan 1519 " "Chapter III

Cortès and Mexico 1519 " " IV

The conquest of Central America " " V

Pizarro in Peru 1524 " " VI

The Spanish penetration of North
America

Volume 23, Chapters I-IV

Explorers

Ponce de Leon, Ayllon, Narvaez, De Vaca, De Soto
and Coronado

Padres and settlers

Volume 23, Chapters V-X

Florida, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana, and
California

French Exploration and Colonization

Cartier's voyages	Volume 4, Chapters I-II	
The foundation of Bourbon claims		
Huguenots in Florida	" "	Pages 135-150
Ribaut and Laudonnière		
Menendez, the sword of Spain		
Champlain and New France	" "	Chapter II
Explorations in Acadia, 1603		
The founding of Quebec, 1608		
Champlain and the Iroquois, 1609		
Journeys into the interior		
Richelieu's colonizing company, 1629		
Louis XIV and New France	" "	IV
The counsel of Colbert		
New France as a royal domain		
The intendants		
The sway of Frontenac	" "	V
Penetration of the back country	" "	VI
Voyageurs		
La Salle		
Church and state in New France		
The priest	" "	VII
The seigneur	" "	VIII
The coureur de bois	" "	IX
Brandy, Indians, and furs		
The farmer and the artisan	" "	X
Daily life in New France	" "	XI

English Exploration

The voyage of John Cabot	Volume 3, Chapter I	
The rise of English sea power		
Tudor ambitions	" "	II, III
Rivalry with Spain and France		
The perils of Elizabeth	" "	IV
Catholic enmity		
John Hawkins, slavers, and gentlemen		
pirates	" "	V
Spanish victims		

6 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

English Exploration—Continued

Sir Francis Drake, scourge of Spain	
On the Spanish Main	Volume 3, Chapter VI
In the Pacific	“ “ VII
In the ports of Spain	“ “ VIII
The establishment of English sea power	“ “ IX, X
The defeat of the Spanish Armada	
The way clear for colonization of North America	
The quest for the Northwest passage to India	
Sir Walter Raleigh and prospectors for	
England	
Gilbert, Cavendish, Frobisher	
First English settlements	
Failure	
The mystery of Virginia Dare	
The death of Drake	Volume 3, Chapter XII

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF A NATION

WHILE Champlain and his successors were constructing a royal empire for Louis Quatorze on the Saint Lawrence, Englishmen strove to gain footholds on the Atlantic seaboard. Leaving to gentlemen adventurers the search for a sea-route to the Orient, merchants of London and Plymouth organized commercial enterprises to exploit the resources of the new world. From beginnings that they made grew the colonies that were to become the nucleus of a new nation. The quest of profit guided the establishment of Virginia and the first efforts to settle on the New England coast, but search for a religious haven led Pilgrims and Puritans to New England and Catholics to Maryland.

America, however, was not to prove a place of restful security. The vast silence of its wilderness was shattered by the tumult of strife within

8 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

the colonies. Their increasing spirit of independence roused the mother country to use a firmer hand. The early Virginians lived through the ordeals of starvation and Indian fury to establish their colony upon the economic basis of tobacco raising. Then the liberalism of their leaders ran athwart the path of King James. Their charter was revoked, and Virginia became a royal colony, the first in a succession that marked the growth of an imperial policy. The Puritans of Massachusetts came to America to set up a Bible Commonwealth in which they should live under their own religious tenets and social restrictions. Other persons could conform or go elsewhere in the wilderness. Their system, however, was immediately assailed from within. Some of the people clamored for removal of restrictions that prevented their participation in government; others resisted the control that the Puritan theocracy assumed over their consciences. Out of these dissensions were born the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Many other radicals moved northward to settle in New Hampshire and vex the soul of Gorges, Anglican and royalist proprietor. Catholic Maryland was engulfed by a tide of Puritan migration sweeping in from the

other colonies, until in self-defense Catholics were obliged to pass an "Act of Toleration" granting religious freedom to all except those who denied the divinity of Christ. Charles I became alarmed by the continuous migration of his Puritan subjects to America and determined to bring the colonies under closer royal supervision. Archbishop Laud, who had relentlessly pursued non-conformists in England, was to investigate the state of affairs in America; but the outbreak of civil war in England put a stop to the colonial plans of Charles.

Meanwhile the Dutch, emulating their stronger neighbors, had established a New Netherland on Manhattan Island and the Hudson River. Fortunate in possession of the economic center of North America, these sturdy Hollanders were rapidly establishing their own civilization about the mouth of the Hudson when war swept them into the hands of the English.

The Civil War in England, followed by the stormy rule of Cromwell, had left America to itself in all important adolescent years. After the Restoration in 1660, when Charles II resumed direction of colonial affairs, he found a dangerously independent spirit in America. His colonial sub-

jects evaded his regulations on commerce. They resented his gifts to favorites of the Carolinas, Jerseys, New York, and huge areas in Virginia as feudal domains. They disliked the governors who exercised the royal authority. New Englanders grew angry at the sight of Andros, sent to gather all the colonies from New Jersey to Maine into a Dominion of New England. It might mean greater protection against the French and Indians but it also meant the overturn of cherished Puritan institutions. A sullen watch was kept for the moment when Andros could be sent back to England and the Dominion broken up. The opportunity came in 1688 with the overthrow of James II in England. Already in Virginia, Bacon's rebellion against the rule of the royal governor, Berkeley, had burst into flames, revealing the stark outlines of the approaching American Revolution.

During the Eighteenth Century the American colonies continued on their course of evading the imperial restriction on commerce and harassing the royal governors who attempted to execute the will of the Crown. They were establishing habits of community life and social customs peculiar to their own localities, whether Puritan in New England, Quaker in Pennsylvania, or Cavalier in

Virginia. But they were facing a danger in common with the mother country, the menace of the French in the back country, a danger which held them close, in spite of diverging interests.

English Colonization

Virginia and the southern colonies

Commercial enterprise in Virginia Volume 5, Chapter I

The London and Plymouth companies

The land grant

Government

The adventurers and the land " " II

Jamestown " " III

Misery and adventure " " IV, V

Captain John Smith

"The Sea Venture"

"Starving Time"

The Arrival of Delaware

The vigorous rule of Dale " " VI

The charter of 1612

Rolfe and tobacco

Argall and the French in Maine

The menace of Spain

Sandys and the liberal government " " VII

Yerkeley, governor, 1619

The House of Burgesses

Cargoes of slaves and women

The Indian massacre, 1622

The displeasure of King James " " VIII

The first royal province

Maryland, refuge of Roman Catholics " " IX

Calvert, favorite of the King

Land grant — Newfoundland

Virginia

Feudal domain

Settlement, 1634

Peace with the Indians

12 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

English Colonization—Continued

The hostility of Virginia			
William Claiborne and Kent Island			
Democratic stirrings	Volume 5, Pages 140-147		
The Act of Toleration, 1649			
The reign of Berkeley in Virginia	" "	Chapter X	
Puritans, Papists, and Anglicans			
The Indian fury			
The effect of the Commonwealth on Virginia	" "		XI
The coming of the Cavaliers			
The "Old Dominion"			
The retirement of Berkeley			
Submission to the Commonwealth			
Claiborne's attack on Maryland			
The effect of the Restoration in Virginia			
Grants to favorites of Charles II			
The return of Berkeley			
Navigation Acts	Volume 5, Pages 245-247		
England's trade policy			
Nathaniel Bacon, first American revolutionist	" "	Chapter XII	
Berkeley's tyranny			
Local government			
The Indian uprising			
Suppression by Bacon	" "		XIII
Larger plans			
Berkeley's rage			
The rebellion			
Eighteenth century Virginia	" "		XV
The Shenandoah			
Maryland after the Restoration	" "	Pages 190-198	
Proprietary control			
The decline of Catholic freedom			
Eighteenth century Maryland			
The Carolinas	" "	Chapter XIV	
The proprietors, 1663			
Early settlements			
Albemarle, Virginian back-country			

English Colonization—Continued

- Cape Fear, Barbadians
- Charleston, colonists from England
- Locke's "Fundamental Constitutions"
- Rejection by the frontiersmen
- Pirates, heretics, radicals from Europe, and restless Virginians
- The founding of Georgia, 1733 Volume 5, Chapter XV
- Oglethorpe, philanthropist
- English debtors
- European refugees
- The wall against Spanish Florida
- Plymouth and the New England colonies
- The exodus of the Pilgrims Volume 6, Chapter I
- Changes in England
- The pressure of religion
- The men of Scrooby
- Sojourn in Holland
- Settlement in America
- The Mayflower Compact
- The place of the Plymouth colony in American history
- Puritans on Massachusetts Bay Volume 6, Chapter II
- Forerunners: Weston, Blackstone, Maverick
- Endicott at Salem
- John Winthrop and the Cambridge Agreement
- The removal of the company to America
- The Great Migration of 1630
- The erection of a Bible Commonwealth
- Expulsion of malcontents
- Anne Hutchinson
- Roger Williams
- The expansion of New England Volume 6, Chapter III
- New colonies from old
- Rhode Island and Roger Williams
- The arrival of the Hutchinsonians
- William Coddington
- The appearance of Gorton, free-thinker
- The Patent of 1643

14 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

English Colonization—Continued

The Charter of 1663

Volume 6, Pages 113-114

Connecticut

The Dutch on the Connecticut river

Saybrook

Thomas Hooker's migration to Hartford

"Fundamental Orders"

The New Haven colony

Ultra Puritans

New Hampshire

Grants of Mason and Gorges

Dover

Portsmouth

Exiles from Massachusetts

Exeter

Hampton

The conflict of titles, grants, and claims

Anglican versus Puritan

Proprietors versus Settlers

Town life and intercolonial affairs

The people and their customs

Volume 6, Chapter IV

Common beliefs

Science, witchcraft, and medicine

Local government

The daily routine

Common cause

The New England Confederation

Enemies of Englishmen

The Dutch

The Indians

Volume 6, Chapter VIII

The Pequot War

King Philip

The effect of the Restoration in New England

Intercolonial rivalries

Volume 6, Chapter VI

The favor of Charles II

The confirmation of charters

The success of Connecticut

The absorption of New Haven

The consolidation of Rhode Island

English Colonization—Continued

- The reassurance of Massachusetts
- The policy of the Merry Monarch
- Conciliation
- Closer control Volume 6, Page 102
- The navigation system Compare Volume 5, Pages 245-247
- Colonial restiveness Volume 6, Chapter VII
- Wayward Massachusetts
- The role of Maverick
- The royal commission of investigation, 1664
- A cold reception
- The special mission of Randolph Volume 6, Chapter IX
- The royal displeasure
- Discipline for Massachusetts
- The revocation of the charter, 1684
- The Dominion of New England Volume 6, Chapter X
- Governor Andros
- The menace of New France
- The union of the New England colonies
- The resistance of the colonies
- The effect of the Revolution of 1688
- The overthrow of Andros
- The new charter for Massachusetts Volume 6, Chapter XI
- The end of colonial isolation
- Although the Puritans left England to find political and religious seclusion in America, they did not desire to break off commercial intercourse with the outside world. Their ships were soon competing with English and Dutch merchantmen for traffic among the lands that bordered the Atlantic Ocean.
- Puritan seafarers Volume 36, Chapter I
- The coastwise trade with Virginia
- Negroes and rum
- Treasure hunting
- Sir William Phips
- The Middle Colonies
- The foothold of Holland in America Volume 7, Chapter I
- Henry Hudson, 1609
- The Dutch West India Company “ “ II

16 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

English Colonization—Continued

First settlements, 1623		
The fur trade		
Patroons and tenants	Volume 7, Chapter III	
A feudal land system		
Dutch colonial management	" "	IV
Minuit and Manhattan		
Van Twiller and Hartford		
English encroachment		
Kieft and the Indians		
Stuyvesant and the settlers		
Van der Donck		
The English on Long Island		
The treaty of Hartford, 1650		
The arrival of the English fleet, 1664		
Dutch classes and customs	Volume 7, Chapters V, VI	
Preachers and teachers		
Burghers and farmers		
Neighbors of the Dutch	" "	VII
The Indians		
The Swedes on the Delaware		
The English in New England		
New York under the rule of England	" "	VIII
The surprise attack		
The Duke's laws		
The Dutch reconquest		
Governors Andros and Dongan		
The Leisler rebellion	" "	IX
William and Mary		
Eighteenth century life		
The home port of pirates	" "	X
Captain Kidd	Compare Volume 36, Chapter I	
The menace of the slaves	Volume 7, Chapter XIII	
The founding of Pennsylvania		
Mystics and business men		
William Penn, Quaker	Volume 8, Chapter I	
Land for royal debts		
His feudal domain	" "	II
Philadelphia	" "	III

English Colonization—Continued

The English and Germans in Pennsylvania	Volume 8, Chapter IV	
Problems of the proprietors	" "	V
Relations with the Indians	" "	VI
Quaker government in the eighteenth century	" "	VII
The Jerseys, royal gifts		
Lords Berkeley and Carteret	" "	VIII
Puritan settlers		
Quaker interests		
Rival colonial authorities		
Landed aristocrats	" "	IX
Contending religious sects	" "	X
The union of the Jerseys	" "	XI
Royal province, 1702		
Proprietary quitrents		
Princeton University		
Delaware, independent colony	" "	XII
Settlers — English, Dutch, Swedes		
The rule of Penn	" "	XIII
Home rule, 1703		

British Imperial Policy and Navigation Acts

The significance of civil war in England	
Charles I and Laud's commission	Volume 6, Pages 27-35
The Long Parliament	
Earl of Warwick, governor of the Colonies, 1643	
The Navigation Ordinance, 1651	
	Volume 5, Pages 156, 245

The Restoration in England

The establishment of a colonial commercial system	Volume 5, Pages 245-247
The navigation acts	Volume 6, Page 102
Charles II	
Act of 1660	
British vessels	
Act of 1663	
British ports	

18 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

British Imperial Policy and Navigation Acts—Continued

Act of 1673

Enumerated goods

King William

Act of 1696

Administration

Admiralty courts

The plan for colonial administration and defence

The Dominion of New England Volume 6, Pages 177–193

Volume 7, Pages 149–151

Volume 8, Pages 177–179

Partly by chance the British Crown in its consent to the establishment of colonies in America allowed three types to grow up. In some cases individuals like William Penn or groups of favorites like the Carolina proprietors were granted large domains over which the grantees exercised feudal control. This was the proprietary province. The communities of Rhode Island and Connecticut, which had developed without original grants from the Crown, sought and secured charters of incorporation which gave the people of the two colonies powers to elect their own governors and direct their own affairs within specified limits. This was the corporate colony. When James I revoked the charter of Virginia and made it into a royal province, he established the third type of colony. Thereafter Virginia was a part of the imperial domain and the governor was appointed directly by the Crown. When the British realized that they had an empire in America and, further, that the colonies were getting out of hand, they turned more and more to the royal type of colony as the best way to govern the empire and hold its component parts close to the mother country. They, accordingly, began the policy of eliminating wherever possible the other two types of colonies.

The trend toward royal provinces

Virginia, 1625

Volume 5, Pages 103–110

New York, 1685

Volume 7, Pages 148–150

Massachusetts and Maine, 1691

Volume 6, Chapter IX–XI

New Hampshire, 1691

Volume 6, Page 197

Maryland, 1691 (restored in 1715)

Volume 5, Pages 190–198

British Imperial Policy and Navigation Acts—Continued

New Jersey, 1702		Volume 8, Chapter XI
North Carolina	} 1719-1729	Volume 5, Page 235
South Carolina		
Georgia, 1754		
Pennsylvania		Volume 8, Pages 118-124
Rhode Island	}	Volume 6, Pages 192-193
Connecticut		

The imperial organization of Great Britain and its colonies gave to the mother country an authority superior to colonial governments in different respects. The Crown had one veto over colonial actions, exercised upon advice of the imperial board of trade. It had another in the power of the royal governor in the colony to refuse approval of the acts of colonial assemblies. The judiciary of Great Britain had the right of judicial review and annulment of the decisions of colonial courts. Acts of Parliament, as the imperial legislature, took precedence over acts of colonial legislatures where they conflicted, and Parliament under the imperial theory could legislate for any part as well as the whole of the British Empire. Finally, colonial acts could be rendered without effect by royal disallowance without the formality of a veto.

Colonial governments and imperial authority

The Crown, Judiciary, and Parliament

Typical cases

Virginia	Volume 5, Pages 103-111
Massachusetts	Volume 6, Pages 185-189
New Jersey	Volume 8, Pages 180-185
Pennsylvania	Volume 8, Pages 118-124

Imperial regulation and control

Royal governor and colonial

assembly in New York Volume 7, Chapter XI

A typical example

Acts of Parliament

Restraint of colonial manufactures

The Molasses Act, 1733 Volume 11, Pages 26-27

Personal liberty

Freedom of the press Volume 7, Chapter XII

20 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

British Imperial Policy and Navigation Acts—Continued

First steps toward colonial union

The New England Confederation, 1642

Volume 6, Pages 88-99

The Dominion of New England, 1688

Volume 6, Pages 177-193

Volume 7, Pages 149-151

Volume 8, Pages 88-89

The Congress at New York, 1690 Volume 7, Page 157

The Albany Congress, 1754 Volume 7, Pages 219-221

Volume 10, Pages 159-160

Volume 8, Pages 88-89

Life in the English Colonies

Settlers and their homes

Volume 9, Chapter I

Nova Scotia to Georgia

Sea coast and back country

Englishman and "foreigner"

Huguenot

German

Ulsterman

Town and country

" " II

Freeholders and tenants

New England towns and Virginian counties

The middle region, a fusion of both

Southern plantations

A landed aristocracy

Colonial houses

Volume 9, Chapter III

The streets of Boston

Dutch houses in New York

Quaker dwellings in Philadelphia

Compare Volume 8, Chapter III

The homes of Charleston

Country dwellings

New England farmhouses

The Southern planter's home

Colonial dress and family life

Volume 9, Chapter IV

Rich and poor

Master and laborer

Life in the English Colonies—Continued

Townsman and farmer	
Importations from England	
Adornments and personal care	
Colonial marriages	
Early betrothals	
Few divorces	
Family affairs	
The training of children	
Sickness and death	
Funerals	
Necessities and recreations	Volume 9, Chapter V
Provisions	
Transportation	
Perishable foods	
Hunting and fishing	
Garden truck	
Spices, coffee, lemons	
Drinking and smoking	
The tavern	
Business, news, politics	
Games and sports	
Cards, gambling, horse-racing, and fairs	
Assemblies, music, and drama	
Intellectual culture	Volume 9, Chapter VI
Schools	
The New England system	Volume 33, Chapter I
Maryland Free School Act, 1694	Volume 9, Page 132
Quaker and German education	Volume 33, Chapter III
Religious direction	
Dutch parochial schools	Volume 33, Chapter II
Private tutors in the South	
Education of wealthy youths in England	
Limited opportunities for girls	
Christian teaching for Indians and negroes	
Higher education	Volume 33, Chapter IV
Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton,	
Rhode Island (Brown), Dartmouth, King's	
College (Columbia), University of Pennsylvania	

22 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Life in the English Colonies—Continued

Professional training		
Medicine, law, art		
Study in Europe		
The use of languages and variety of reading		
Notable collections of books		
The colonial bookseller		
Religious life	Volume 9, Chapter VII	
Sectarian divisions		
The minister in New England		
The Anglican rector in the South		
Backsliders and wayward clergy		
Music in church services		
Labor in colonial times	" "	VIII
The farmhand		
The skilled artisan		
Indentured servants		
"Soul drivers"		
Contracted immigrants		
Apprentices		
Transported convicts		
Negro slaves		
The African slave trade		
Slave markets		
Newport, R. I.		
Charleston, S. C.		
Domestic and field slaves		
Master and slave woman		
Travel	" "	IX
Voyages to England, the Continent, and the West		
Indies		
Intercolonial travel		
Northern summer resorts		
European observers		
Routes		
By water and land		
Horseback and coach		
A survey of sectional differences	Volume 9, Pages 230-237	

The Literature of the Colonial Period

The restless spirit of America	Volume 34, Chapter I
The English tradition	
The stir of the frontier	
The first men of letters	“ “ II
Capt. John Smith and William Strachey	
Bradford and Winthrop	
The clergy	
Hooker and Cotton	
The younger generation	“ “ III
The contrast between Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall	
Jonathan Edwards, philosopher	

The Greatest Colonial Figure

Benjamin Franklin	
Man of letters	Volume 34, Chapter III
Educator	Volume 33, Chapter V
Scientist	Volume 37, Chapter I
Statesman	
Advocate of colonial union	Volume 7, Page 220 Volume 10, Page 160 Volume 13, Page 50
Citizen of Pennsylvania	Volume 8, Pages 56-124
Colonial agent at London	Volume 11, Chapter I
Revolutionist	
Member of Congress	Volume 12, Pages 50, 93
Minister to France	Volume 13, Chapter I
Negotiator of peace	
A framer of the Constitution	Pages 113, 134

CHAPTER III

RIVALS OF THE ENGLISH FOR MASTERY OF THE CONTINENT

ALTHOUGH Spain lost control of the high seas with the defeat of the Armada, Spanish authority still remained dominant in Central and South America, and Spanish settlements in the southern part of North America increased steadily until they extended from Florida around the gulf coast to Mexico and up the Pacific coast far into California. It was not from the Spaniard, however, busily engaged as he was in exploiting an empire in his own way, that the Englishman on the Atlantic coast was to meet strong opposition. Except on the frontier of the Floridas, they nowhere came in contact. It was from the Frenchman to the north and west, who was penetrating the back country in search of furs, fortifying the strategic points, and establishing an inland empire, lightly but firmly held. The New Englander was in con-

tact with the French inhabitant of Quebec and Acadia. The frontiersman of New York, Pennsylvania, or Virginia came frequently upon the French trader at the very back door of his own colony.

Even if there had been no European or Oriental quarrels to set their mother countries upon each other, the colonials would sooner or later have come to blows. The French in Acadia menaced the growing commerce of New England, and the Puritan hated Popish neighbors. The specter of an Indian warrior infuriated by French brandy and religious bigotry was ever in the mind of the English backwoodsman. The French feared the advance of the English pioneer over the mountains into the rich Ohio valley threatening the fur trade upon which his colonial empire was based. These antagonisms were stirred to violence by unending quarrels in Europe. The feud between England and France was fought out in a series of wars, named by the English colonials: King William's War, 1689-1697, Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713, King George's War, 1739-1748, and The French and Indian War, 1754-1763. In all the plan was the same. Englishmen launched successive attacks against Quebec and Montreal and strove to

win and hold Acadia. Frenchmen harassed the frontier with fire and Indian vengeance, countered the English blows, and clung desperately to the Ohio valley. In the end, the English captured Quebec and Montreal and forced the French to deliver up their inland empire. For allying themselves with the French against the English, the Spaniards were given in 1763 Louisiana—all that France had claimed west of the Mississippi south of the great unexplored regions to the northwest. The triumph of England, however, brought with peace a new menace to the British Empire. The colonial inhabitants of the seaboard colonies watched the French peril vanish with mixed emotions. They exulted in victory, for the last war had been in a larger sense their war with the French and the Indians. The French were gone. For the Indians they had only contempt. With a new feeling of security and power, they faced the settlement of their relations with the Imperial British Government.

<i>The Spaniards to the South and West</i>	Volume 23, Chapter V
Florida	Volume 5, Pages 33-36, 88-89, 206, 232
New Mexico	Volume 23, Chapter VI
Texas	" " VIII
Louisiana	" " IX
Spain in the French and Indian War	Volume 19, Chapter IV
California	Volume 23, Chapters VII, X

The French on the North and West

Early Virginian hostility to the French in Maine

Volume 5, Pages 87-88

French pioneers in the West

Volume 10, Chapter V

New Orleans

Search for the Western Sea

English competitors from Hudson Bay

The clash in the valley of the Ohio " " VI

The Feud between England and France

"King William's War" 1689-1697 " " I

Frontenac and Phips

Schenectady

Phips at Port Royal in Acadia

Phips before Quebec

Failure

Schuyler's expedition into Canada

The advance of Frontenac in 1696

The peace of Ryswick

The contrast of French and English colonies " " II

European rivalry and colonial strife

Catholic and Protestant

French despotism and English self-government

The difference of population

"Queen Anne's War" 1702-1713 Volume 10, Chapter III

French aggression on the frontier of New England

Deerfield massacre 1704

The march of Nicholson against Port Royal

The expedition of Hill and Walker against Quebec

Dismal failure

The treaty of Utrecht

The French entrenchment at Louisburg Volume 10, Chapter IV

Thirty years of peace

Walpole's policy

"King George's War" 1739-1748

The attack of New England on Louisburg

The victory of Pepperell

28 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Feud between England and France--Continued

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle

The return of Louisburg to the French

The anger of Massachusetts

"The French and Indian War" 1754-1763

Volume 10, Pages 151-163

Rival claims to the Ohio Valley

Volume 8, Chapter VI

The French at Fort Le Bœuf

Volume 18, Pages 75-83

The mission of George Washington

The English at Pittsburgh

Fort Duquesne

Washington's defeat of Jumonville

The battle of Great Meadows

Colonial preparations for defence

The Albany Congress 1754

The campaigns of 1755

Braddock's disaster

Johnson's expedition against Crown Point

The victory on Lake George

Volume 7, Chapter XIV

Expulsion of the Acadians

Volume 10, Chapter VII

Allegiance to England or deportation

Montcalm in Canada

Volume 10, Chapter VIII

The jealousy of Vaudreuil

Montcalm's thrust into New York

Oswego

Lake Champlain, 1757

Defeat of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, 1758

Obstacles at Quebec and

Versailles

Volume 10, Chapter IX

William Pitt, war minister

" " X

The capture of Louisburg

The capture of Duquesne

" " Page 198

Pittsburgh

The English campaign of 1759

Wolfe before Quebec

The Plains of Abraham

The march of Amherst on Montreal

Indian friends of the French in the

Southwest

Volume 18, Pages 83-87

The Feud between England and France—Continued

The fall of Canada

Volume 10, Chapter XI

The convergence of three British armies on
Montreal, 1760

Amherst, commander-in-chief

The capture of Montreal

The peace of Paris, 1763

Indian resistance to English control

Pontiac's conspiracy

Volume 19, Chapter I

CHAPTER IV

THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE

VICTORY in 1763 over France in the war for world dominion gave to Great Britain, besides an extended control over India, practically the whole of the North American continent east of the Mississippi river. The British Empire had suddenly more than doubled in area. With title to the land came the duty of administration and protection. The Imperial government was obliged to reorganize the commercial system, to find new revenues, and at the same time to consolidate its conquests. Long since grown accustomed to handle their own affairs rather as they willed, the Americans resented the unexpected attempt to establish more effective imperial regulation of their economic life and control over their political affairs. In successive ministries, Grenville, Rockingham, Townshend, and North all tried to build up a colonial policy that would reconcile the needs of

the empire with the wishes of the colonists. The struggles over this problem precipitated the Revolution.

Out of the bitterness of the first year of bloodshed grew a strong demand for independence. The Declaration of July 4, 1776, proclaimed that the British colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia had broken the ancient ties that bound them to the homeland and had set out for themselves as the United States of America. Seven years of war, however, were required before Great Britain would accept this assertion as a fact.

The contest was manifold in character. It was both a rebellion against imperial control and a feud at home between patriots and loyalists, the tragedy of which was heightened by the frightfulness of Indian raids and the grim retaliation of frontiersmen. Following Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, France came openly to the assistance of the revolutionary states, to get vengeance on the old enemy of the Fleur-de-Lys. Spain and Holland joined France. A conflict that started as an insurrection about Boston became a world war.

Although the French alliance virtually made certain the ultimate outcome, the Revolution was

greatly aided by the incompetence of Britain's generals. On three occasions, at the battle of Long Island, at Morristown during the critical year of 1776, and at Valley Forge in 1777, General Howe failed to seize his opportunity to destroy the small army of Washington and remove this bulwark of the American cause from the field. The will of Washington and the devotion of the small group about him were in large measure responsible for bringing the American Revolution through the years of discouragement to success. Unable to disperse the American army and to prevent a coalition of European enemies, Great Britain grew tired of a prolonged and expensive war across three thousand miles of sea, acknowledged the independence of her old colonies, and met their terms for peace.

The British Empire in 1763
 Territorial acquisitions
 The Proclamation of 1763

Volume 11, Chapters I, II

Grenville's Imperial Policy
 The colonial agent in England
 The British office-holder in America
 The Revenue Act of 1764
 The Quartering Act
 The Stamp Act

American Resistance
 The Stamp Act Congress
 Sons of Liberty

" "

III

THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE 33

<i>The Rockingham Repeal</i>	Volume 11, Chapter IV
The Amendment of Revenue Act	“ “ Page 114
The Declaratory Act	
 <i>Townshend's Change of the Imperial Policy</i>	 “ “ Chapter IV
The Townshend Acts	
<i>The Liberty</i>	
Troops in Boston	
Non-importation agreements	
The Boston Massacre	
 <i>The Influence of Lord North</i>	
The repeal of Townshend duties except that on tea	
The Royal reaction	
 <i>The Agitation by Samuel Adams</i>	Volume 11, Chapter V
His use of the caucus	Volume 43, Page 20
The publication of Governor Hutchinson's letters	
The East India Regulating Act	Volume 11, Chapter VI
The tea parties	
North's punitive acts	
 <i>The First Continental Congress</i>	“ “ VI
American philosophy	
Collective action	
The Declaration of Rights	
The Association	
The party of opposition	“ “ Page 231
Loyalists	
 <i>The Outbreak of War</i>	“ “ Chapter VI
North and Burke on conciliation	
Lexington and Concord	
The Second Continental Congress	
Washington, commander-in-chief	Volume 12, Chapter I
Dickinson's petition to the King	

34 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

<i>Growing Sentiment for Independence</i>	Volume 11, Pages 245-250
British methods of suppression	
Paine's "Common Sense"	Volume 12, Chapter III
The Declaration	
<i>Early Campaigns of the War</i>	
Washington in New England	" " II
Ticonderoga	
The invasion of Canada	
The siege of Boston	
The British campaign of 1776	" " IV
The repulse at Fort Moultrie	
Lake Champlain	" " Page 53
The capture of New York	" " Chapter IV
The march into New Jersey	
Washington's brilliant counter offensive	
The battle of Trenton	
Winter at Morristown	
Howe's failure	
The British plan for 1777	" " V
Burgoyne and St. Leger from Canada	" " VI
Surrender at Saratoga	
Howe to Philadelphia	" " V
The Loyalists	
Winter at Valley Forge	" " VII
Intrigues against Washington	
Howe's failure	
<i>The American Alliance with France</i>	" " VIII
Franklin	
North's peace proposals	" " Page 190
French aid	" " Chapter X
<i>Operations from 1778 to 1781</i>	
The evacuation of Philadelphia	" " Page 196
Monmouth	
Newport	" " Page 201
John Paul Jones and the American Navy	" " Page 205

THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE 35

Operations from 1778 to 1781—Continued

The Privateers of '76 Volume 36, Chapters II, III

 Their training

 The fishing fleet of Massachusetts

 The whalers of Nantucket

Raids upon British commerce

 Captures of British seamen

Notable commanders

 Haraden

 Talbot

 Geddes

 The fate of Nantucket

The British campaign in the South Volume 12, Chapter IX

Tory raids

The Franco-American siege of Yorktown " " XI

 The surrender of Cornwallis

The Formation of the Confederation Volume 13, Chapter III

 Revolutionary state constitutions Pages 40-43

 The Articles Pages 52-54; 175-189

The Treaty of Peace

 The change in British ministry Volume 12, Page 268

 The preliminary treaty with Great Britain Pages 272-276

 The formal treaty of Versailles Volume 13, Chapter I

The Evacuation of New York Volume 12, Chapter XI

The Departure of the Loyalists

The Literature of the Revolution Volume 34, Chapter IV

 The spirit of daring

 Loyalist pleaders for repose

Letters from an American Farmer

 The poet — Freneau

 Writers of prose and orators

 James Otis and Patrick Henry

 Samuel Adams

 John Adams

36 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Literature of the Revolution—Continued

Thomas Paine

Alexander Hamilton

Thomas Jefferson

The Declaration of Independence

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

LONG before the Revolution restless individuals moved up the eastern slopes of the Appalachian mountains and penetrated the upland valleys. They had pushed farther and farther away from the seaboard and, as the wilderness had closed about them, had lost all feeling of dependence upon the mother country. The authority of the King was but a shadow; self sufficient backwoodsmen began to forget or ignore His Majesty's government. Many pioneers of English stock moved into this back country but more numerous were immigrants from North Ireland, Scotch in blood and Presbyterian in religion. With them, but maintaining their own identity, came groups of Scotch Highlanders and Germans from the Rhineland whose recent stay in the valleys of Pennsylvania had fastened upon them the name, "Pennsylvania Dutch." Following close upon the path-

finders and traders these peoples moved courageously into the forest and the mountains to settle in little log cabin communities, chopping away the woods to get farms and fighting savagely with the Indians to hold what they had taken.

In eastern Tennessee the settlers on the Watauga river bound themselves together under simple regulations of government. When Ferguson and his Tories invaded the back country, the men of Watauga caught the spirit of the Revolution that had swept the seaboard since 1775. They hurried through the mountain passes to cut off Ferguson's raiders and destroyed them in the fierce fight at King's Mountain. Thrilled by the thought of independence, these "overhill" people set up a new state of Franklin and sought admission to the Confederation. But North Carolina had claims that could not be overlooked by the Congress of the Confederation and the State of Franklin sank back into dependence upon the older commonwealth. When the uncertain days of the Confederation had passed and the United States of America had taken form under the Constitution, it was included in the new state of Tennessee.

Meanwhile Daniel Boone had led the way into

the "dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky. In that no man's land his successors held on, in spite of the constant ravages of Indian war parties, until their little settlements grew into the new state of Kentucky, the first of those west of the Alleghanies to be admitted to the Union. Far out to the west in Tennessee, James Robertson led a pioneer band to settle on the Cumberland river, the beginning of Nashville. There, as an outpost, these pioneers held their ground against the Indians and in defiance of British intrigues and Spanish alarm.

North of the Ohio river the American pioneer with equal determination was defying the wishes of the mother country to regulate the settlement of the Indian country. British ministers might declare that the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi was closed to settlers from the seaboard colonies, but the frontiersman did not abandon his rude cabin and the clearing that he had made in the forest beside some tributary of the Ohio river. The revolt of the seaboard colonies multiplied the hardships of the frontier. More Indian war parties, incited now by British officers in the frontier forts, terrorized the settlements with tomahawk and torch. The frontiersmen

struck back with equal savagery. George Rogers Clark saw the opportunity to break the power of the British in the Northwest, and in the name of Virginia led a band of frontiersmen on an expedition to the Illinois region where he surprised the English garrisons and forced the British to retire upon Detroit.

When the war was over, the victorious colonies found themselves possessed of an empire stretching from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. Already the several states had abandoned their sovereign claims and had avoided all disputes of ownership by giving the whole territory to the Confederation to be held as a national domain. In 1787, the Congress of the Confederation passed the famous Northwest Ordinance which provided for the organization of the region north of the Ohio, and which laid the foundations for the subsequent territorial policy of the United States. There remained the task of pushing back the Indian, of establishing settlements, allotting the lands, and organizing local governments. The story is all too frequently one of sordidness and greed but from first to last it is a tale of daring and relentless determination. The Indian fought doggedly to hold back the flood of whites, but from the start

his cause was lost. Tecumseh in desperation sought to unite all the tribes against the common foe and then turned to an open alliance with the British in Canada. But his people were not ready for such a union. At Tippecanoe and the Thames his hopes perished and in the latter battle the great chieftain gave up his life.

Meanwhile the never ending stream of home-seekers poured down the Ohio and spread out on the rich lands to the south, west, and north. The Indian was swept on, first, into the far northwest and, then, beyond the Mississippi. In this flood of pioneers were Connecticut Yankees, Pennsylvanian farmers, Virginians, and Carolinians. They came in their Conestoga wagons or on Ohio flat boats, the thrifty mingling with the thriftless, those who looked forward to success with those who looked back upon failure, American born and foreign born. Poured into the life of the frontier these clashing types retained some of their original characteristics. But common handicaps and dangers forced them into the same hard mold of backwoods life. They merged into a new figure, the Westerner.

Washington's Vision of the West

Volume 21, Chapter I

The First Immigrants: Non-English stock

Volume 35, Chapter I

42 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Old Back Country

The Shenandoah and Yadkin valleys	Volume 18, Chapter I	
Ulstermen and Highlanders		
The trek of the Pennsylvania Dutch	" "	
Frontier folkways		II

Trails and Roads across the Mountains

The pathfinders	Volume 21, Chapter II	
Trade with the Indians	Volume 18, Chapter III	
McGillivray and Adair		
The wanderings of Daniel Boone	" "	V
Florida		
Kentucky		

Watauga — Eastern Tennessee

Relation to the Regulation movement	" "	VIII
Adventurous spirits		
James Robertson		
John Sevier		
The Association		
War with the Indians		
"Bonnie Kate Sherill"		
The back-country men at King's Mountain	" "	IX
The thrill of independence		
The State of Franklin	" "	X

Kentucky

The battle ground of the Indians		
Daniel Boone	" "	VI
Settlers on the "Dark and Bloody Ground"	" "	VII
Henderson and Harrod		

Western Tennessee

The advance of Robertson	"	Pages 184-194
British intrigues with the Indians	"	Chapter X
Spanish alarms		

Western Tennessee—Continued

Alexander McGillivray, Creek

chieftain

Volume 14, Pages 83-87

James Wilkinson, traitor

The Inveterate Pioneer

The migration of Daniel Boone to the

Missouri

Volume 18, Chapter XI

The Fight for the Northwest

The Indian rejection of the English conquest of Canada

Pontiac's conspiracy

Volume 19, Chapter I

Forbidden land

The Proclamation of 1763

" " II

The Quebec Act

" " III

The Revolution in the Northwest

Indian raids

English supplies

George Rogers Clark, conqueror of the Illinois country

The British counter advance

Volume 19, Chapter IV

Clark's victory at Vincennes

The Spanish demonstration from St. Louis against

the British in Michigan

The Ordinance of 1787

The foundation of a colonial system

Volume 19, Chapter V

The genesis of the Ordinance

Volume 13, Chapter IV

The cession of western lands by the several states

The Ordinance of 1784

The lobby of the Ohio company

Progressive treaties with the Indians

Disregard of Indian rights by the white settlers

Ohio

Volume 19, Chapter V

Speculation and immigration

War veterans and western lands

The Ohio Company

Rev. Manasseh Cutler

Man of God and lobbyist

44 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Ohio—Continued

The founding of Marietta, 1788

The residence of Gov. St. Clair

The Symmes grant

The birth of Cincinnati

The capital of the Northwest Territory, 1790

The Indian menace

Savage vengeance

Volume 14, Pages 93-103

British encouragement

The defeat of St. Clair, 1791

The success of Wayne

The battle of Fallen Timbers, 1794

The defeat of the Indians under the British
guns of Fort Miami

The Indian treaties of 1795

Fifteen years of peace

Development of transportation

Rivers

Volume 21, Chapter III

Wagon roads

“ “ IV

The settlement of the Northwest

Volume 19, Chapter VI

The stream of homeseekers down the Ohio from

Pittsburgh

Alarm in the depleted eastern states

The flat boat trade

Volume 21, Chapter V

The Western Reserve

Volume 19, Chapter VI

New Connecticut

The Seven Ranges

Pennsylvanians

The Scioto Valley

Virginians

The frontier melting pot.

The clash of types

Common handicaps and dangers

The birth of common customs

“ “

VII

The schooling of the woodsman

Log-rolling and house-raising

Camp meetings

The settlement of the Northwest—Continued

The Northwest as seen by foreign
travelers

Volume 21, Chapter VI

The division of the territory
Ohio and Indiana

Volume 19, Pages 131-132

The banishment of the Indian

Tecumseh, leader of a lost cause “ Chapter VIII

The expansion of the white population in Indiana

Settlers from Kentucky

Trespass upon Indian lands

Destruction of their hunting grounds

The white man's contempt

The degradation of the Indian

Ineffectual Congressional legislation

The wrath of the Indian

Tecumseh, successor of Pontiac

The plan for an Indian confederation

The Prophet's town

The alarm of the white man

The conference of Gov. Harrison and Tecumseh

The land cessions of 1809

The approach of war

Tecumseh's mission to the Southern Indians

The advance of Harrison

The battle of Tippecanoe, 1811

Tecumseh's alliance with the British

in the War of 1812

Volume 19, Pages 151-160

Compare Volume 17, Chapter II

The effect on the Northwest of the

British defeat

Volume 19, Chapter IX

The rush of westward migration

The penetration of the Upper Mississippi Valley “ XI

Pike's expedition, 1805

Rivalry with the British for the Indian trade

The discovery of lead ore

The last stand of the Indian in the Old Northwest

Black Hawk's War, 1830-1832

CHAPTER VI

CREATION AND INTERPRETATION OF A CONSTITUTION

THE Second Continental Congress, summoned to remonstrate with the home government, remained at Philadelphia and became the *de facto* Revolutionary government. But the colonies that had thrown off British rule and established state governments under written constitutions recognized the Continental Congress only as a central agency which under force of necessity assumed authority in a common cause. The states felt that they must have a central government with powers granted by formal consent; so, Articles of Confederation were framed by a committee of Congress and presented in due form to the sovereign states. All of them had ratified the Articles by 1781. Thenceforth the thirteen Revolutionary commonwealths possessed a legal agency for united action, the Congress of the Confederation.

In the dark and uncertain days following the

peace of 1783, the American states came to the realization that the Articles of Confederation were not adequate to the needs of the people. America needed not a confederation of states but a national government. The Congress of the Confederation was able to provide successfully for organization and management of the national domain beyond the mountains, but it was unable to keep the United States from bankruptcy, to settle the arrears of soldiers' pay, to secure adequate funds for the central government, to open foreign markets to American commerce, to prevent serious conflicts over boundaries and tariffs between the states or disorders within states. These quarrels convinced Washington and other leading men that only radical changes and improvements in the central government could keep the American states from drifting into helplessness and mutual hostility, easy prey for any aggressive power. The new nation born of the glorious trials and sufferings of the Revolution might be forever lost.

A conference at Mt. Vernon over the commercial rivalry between Virginia and Maryland was the first step in a movement which ended with the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, from which there was sent to the states for ratification

a new Constitution of the United States. Strong opposition to the new plan appeared. But resistance from local and particularist interests fell before the weight of Washington's name, the incisive logic of Hamilton's pen, and the widespread argument of influential men that what might not be best for special interests of the states would certainly be good for the American people as a whole. The Constitution was ratified. Elections were held promptly and Washington summoned by unanimous voice to be the first President of the United States. Rhode Island and North Carolina alone remained outside when the new government was organized. They soon perceived, however, the dangers of isolation and joined the Union.

Washington's administration was faced with the labor of establishing principles, precedents, and administrative institutions for the new government. To one task, Alexander Hamilton, Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, set himself zealously and by far reaching financial plans laid the foundations of national credit.

The Articles of Confederation
 Provisions
 The slowness of ratification

Volume 13, Chapter III
 " " Pages 174-189
 " " Pages 57-59

The Critical Period

Government under the Articles

" " Chapter IV

The Critical Period—Continued

The management of the national domain

The Northwest Ordinance

The bankruptcy of the United States Volume 13, Chapter V

The arrears of soldiers' pay

Inadequate funds

The failure of requisitions upon the states

Conflicting state regulations

Quarrels and uprisings

The Wyoming valley

Vermont

Volume 13, Page 68

Paper money troubles in Rhode Island " Pages 89-90

Shays' rebellion " Pages 93-95

The Movement for a New Constitution

Conferences over commerce " Pages 100-104

Alexandria

Annapolis

The Constitutional Convention

Philadelphia " Chapter VI

Prominent personalities

The Constitution " VII

Rival plans, New Jersey and Virginia

Features

The Great Compromise

The Supreme Law of the Land

Branches of the National Government

Executive

Legislative

Judicial

Delegated Powers

The elastic clause

Commerce and the Slave Trade

The Three-fifths Rule

Slaves

50 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

<i>Ratification and Amendment</i>	Volume 13, Chapter VIII
The procedure in state conventions	
The resistance of Anti-federalists	Volume 43, Pages 1-5
"The Federalist"	
Adoption by eleven states	
The coercion of Rhode Island and North Carolina	
The first ten amendments	Volume 14, Page 32
 <i>The New Government of the United States</i>	
Washington, first President	Volume 14, Chapter I
Acts of Congress	" " II
The tariff, July 4, 1789	
The creation of departments	
The cabinet	
The judiciary	
Hamilton's financial program	" " III
The building of a strong national government	
The funding of national debts	
The assumption of state debts	
The location of the capital	
Internal revenues	
The national bank	
The mint	
The protection of manufactures	
 <i>The Doctrine of States Rights</i>	
The theory of strict construction of the Constitution	
Jeffersonian opposition to Hamilton's nationalism	
The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, 1798	Volume 14, Page 219

CHAPTER VII

PROTEST AGAINST EUROPEAN DOMINANCE

THE confederated American states had won their political independence from Great Britain, but foreign powers were by no means ready to accord to them a place as equals in the society of nations. The states were still in economic dependence upon Europe, and European governments did not hesitate to restrict American commerce. It was futile for the Confederation to protest or announce retaliatory measures. Europe did not much care, for it was reasonably certain that the American states would not heed the acts of their own Congress and, even if they did, America was of no great consequence. As Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the Confederation, John Jay sought a settlement with Spain of the problems of trade with Spanish ports, navigation of the Mississippi, and the Florida boundary, but his efforts were in vain. John Adams, as ambassador at London,

was met with the sarcastic but significant query as to the whereabouts of the other twelve representatives of the United States. Thomas Jefferson at Paris enjoyed some of the acclaim that had been Franklin's, but the French government listened to few of his importunities.

The task of the first administration was to secure the respect of the powers for the new nation and to maintain peace while internal affairs were being set in order. The French attempted to use the United States to aid in spreading the French Revolution. They had designs upon the American possessions of decadent Spain. But they were thwarted by Washington's cool reception of Genet. Washington no longer considered binding the obligations of the old alliance of 1778 and declared America's neutrality. Spanish intrigues in the Southwest were thwarted and Western thoughts of separation from the Union were stopped short by the negotiations of Pinckney with the Spanish government. The treaty determined the Florida boundary and opened the Mississippi for ocean-bound commerce. Assured of foreign markets for their surplus grain and other products, the men of Kentucky and Tennessee no longer could charge the East with sacrificing their interests.

In the meantime Washington and Hamilton had attacked the problems left from the peace treaty with Great Britain and despatched John Jay to London. He returned with a treaty which provided for settlement of the problems of debts, Loyalists, northwestern posts, and slaves freed by the British armies, but which was ominously silent on the new questions of impressment and the right to search neutral vessels in time of war. Great Britain was willing to permit American shipping to enter the East Indies and compete for the Oriental trade, but was, as yet, unwilling to give Americans those privileges in the British West Indies that they had once enjoyed as colonial subjects of the Crown. At best Jay's treaty was only a truce; but since it assured the continuance of peace with Great Britain the Senate ratified it with a single reservation in spite of widespread popular disapproval.

France was incensed at the American rapprochement with Great Britain and at Washington's recall of Monroe who was a prominent member of the pro-French party in the United States. When the Federalist Pinckney was sent in his place, France refused to receive the new representative. President Adams attempted to save

the situation by a commission of which Pinckney was a member, but the French dallied and asked a "douceur." The details of the humiliating episode, known as the X. Y. Z. affair, were communicated to Adams and were published by him. The result was the informal war with France of 1798-1800. American frigates met and defeated Frenchmen on the high seas; American privateers took their toll of French commerce; and active preparations were begun to put an army in the field. Over the organization of this army a quarrel developed which opened a dangerous rift in the ranks of the Federalist party. It was closed for the time when President Adams, in answer to a French hint, sent another commission to Paris to meet the representatives of Napoleon just risen to power. In the convention that grew out of the negotiation each party announced fair treatment for the shipping and sailors of the other. With the end of the war came also the end of the Franco-American alliance. From that time till now the United States has never been the ally of any European power.

By 1800 American merchantmen were sailing everywhere busy in every trade. They crowded the ports of Europe, competed with the British for the China trade, and sought profit and adventure

along the coasts of South America and amid the tropical islands of the South Seas. Year after year saw the prosperity of the American ship-masters mount higher and higher. Again war broke out between England and France, and again America remained neutral. For a time the profits of the neutral carrying trade surpassed those of peace. But the prosperity was not for long. Before 1807, the strokes and counter-strokes of the European struggle threatened the Americans with ruin.

*The Diplomatic Weakness of the
Confederation*

Volume 13, Chapter II

Economic dependence upon Europe

Commercial treaties

Restrictions on American commerce

Futile efforts to retaliate

“ “ Pages 98-99

Foreign Relations Under the New Government

Volume 14, Chapter V

The disgrace of tribute

Barbary commerce-raiders

Ransom for captive Americans

The French Revolution and the Franco-

American alliance

“ “

VI

The mission of Genet

War between France and England

Designs on the Southwest

The vision of a new French empire

A warm reception by the American people

The coolness of the American government

A choice between treaty obligations and national
welfare

The contest between Jefferson and Hamilton

56 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Foreign Relations Under the New Government—Continued

Washington's proclamation

The failure of Genet's plans

The treaty with Spain

The intrigues of Wilkinson Volume 18, Pages 260-265

Indian troubles in the Southwest Volume 14, Pages 86-87

The attitude of the Westerners

Pinckney's treaty, 1795 " Pages 145-146

The boundary of Florida

Free navigation of the Mississippi

The right of deposit at New Orleans

Negotiations with England Volume 14, Chapter VII

The ascendancy of Hamilton

The mission of Jay

American complaints and British countercharges

Violations of the Treaty of 1783 by both parties

British commercial restrictions

The West India trade

The rights of neutrals in the war with France

The seizure of American vessels

Impressment

Indian troubles in the Northwest Volume 14, Pages 93-103

Volume 19, Pages 83-96

Congressional mischief-making Volume 14, Chapter VII

The non-intercourse bill in the House

Defeat in the Senate

Jay's unsatisfactory treaty

The cost of peace with Great Britain

Popular fury

Acceptance by Congress Volume 14, Pages 190-192

The eloquence of Fisher Ames

American ministers at Paris

The Federalist, Gouverneur Morris Pages 117-118

The Republican, James Monroe Chapter IX

The Federalist, C. C. Pinckney

Rebuff by Revolutionary France

Seizures of American vessels

The mission of Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry

The humiliating X. Y. Z. Affair

Foreign Relations Under the New Government—Continued

Informal war with France

“No; no; not a sixpence.”

The anger of America

Naval battles

American privateers and French commerce

The preparation of an army

Wrangles over the command

Washington and Hamilton

The vexation of Adams

New envoys to France

The co-operation of Hamilton with Adams

Negotiations with Napoleon

The Convention of 1800

The abrogation of the Franco-American
alliance

American competition with European Shipmasters

Volume 36, Chapter IV

Trade with the Orient

The leadership of Salem

Adventures in the tropics

“ “

V

“Free Trade and Sailors’ Rights”

“ “

VI

Neutral trade made the victim of the war between
Great Britain and France

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICS AND PARTISANS

ALTHOUGH President Washington was deeply engrossed in grave foreign problems, he was even more concerned over domestic affairs. He hoped to preside over a non-partisan government, but he was soon disillusioned. He gave an aristocratic tone to the etiquette and customs of his high office and in so doing stirred up a swarm of critics who declared that he was false to the democratic spirit of America. When his Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton, elaborated a financial program which unmistakably was based upon the theory that the new government had powers strongly centralized and national in scope, Washington's administration at once met stubborn resistance from those whose state pride or particular interests would have to be subordinated.

In the factional opposition to Hamilton of Jefferson and his clique the party of opposition, soon

known as the Democratic Republican, had its origin. After Washington preferred Hamilton's proposals in regard to Genet's mission, Jefferson withdrew from the Cabinet to become openly the leader of the opposition and a candidate for the presidency in 1796 when Washington would retire. In the meantime a popular uprising against Hamilton's excise had broken out. Mountaineer farmers in western Pennsylvania felt that this national law discriminated against their chief source of money income, the manufacture of whiskey. Hamilton's show of military strength easily dispersed the rebels. He maintained the supremacy of the national authority, but he also made many votes for Jefferson and the Republican party.

The Federalists were strong enough to elect John Adams as Washington's successor. Jefferson won second place and the vice-presidency. The Federalist party, however, was soon torn by a jealous feud between Adams and Hamilton. The controversy over the command of the army during the war with France only widened the breach between the two factions. They sought, nevertheless, to retain Federalist control of the government by striking down their Republican critics and assailants with a stringent sedition law. Instead

of silencing their enemies, their persecution of Republican journalists gave to their opponents a legitimate grievance of the greatest political value. To protest against the sedition law, Jefferson and Madison framed the famous Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. In 1800 their followers rallied to Jefferson at the polls and elevated the Virginian planter to the presidency.

The turn of the political wheel which raised Jefferson to the height of power threw off the Federalist party in broken fragments. It never again gathered itself together in national strength although it was sustained for a quarter-century in New England by sectional interests. Yet in 1800 Jefferson realized that he had won but a partial victory. His party had captured the executive and the legislative branches of the central government, but his opponents still controlled the judiciary where Federalist judges headed by Chief Justice John Marshall enjoyed appointments for life.

Jefferson, therefore, set himself promptly to deprive his opponents of their remaining power. His cabinet contained two men from New England. His program of economical administration would appeal to all property-holders who paid

taxes. His inaugural address held out the olive branch to all individual Federalists. Then, he turned upon those obnoxious leaders of Federalism, the judges. Congress repealed the act which had given so many of them their places. The House of Representatives impeached Justice Chase of the Supreme Court whose remarks in trials under the Sedition Act had exasperated the Republicans. Marshall countered these blows at the judiciary with his famous declaration in *Marbury versus Madison* that the Constitution gave power to the Supreme Court to review legislation of Congress and declare it null and void if it were unconstitutional.

From the beginning the Vice-President had been a sinister figure in the Jeffersonian administration. He had intrigued with a group of reactionary Federalists in New England who were muttering words of disunion, and he had killed in a duel the leading Federalist, Hamilton, who had helped to thwart the scheme. Then, with his political future ruined, he had set out upon a mysterious expedition into the Southwest. Burr's exact motive in this undertaking will probably never be known, but the venture ended in the court house at Richmond, Virginia, with the former Vice-

62 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

President on trial for treason. There, to the complete annoyance of Jefferson, Burr was acquitted for want of evidence by the Federalist, Chief Justice Marshall.

Hamiltonian Federalism

The formation of aristocratic precedents Volume 14, Chapter I

 Official etiquette

 Social customs

The determination of fundamental
 institutions

“ “ II

 Tariffs — the beginning of protection

 Amendments to the Constitution

 The organization of the Treasury

 The establishment of the Judiciary

Hamilton's primary policies “ “ III

 The funding bill

 The national debt

 The assumption of state debts

 Location of the capital

 A national bank

 Excise taxes

 The national mint

 The report on manufactures

Trials of the President Volume 14, Chapter IV

 Indian troubles and national defence

 Senatorial obstinacy

 State pride

 Hancock, governor of Massachusetts

Washington's views on education Volume 33, Chapter VII

 A national duty

 His first address to Congress

 A national university

 The national military academy

Jeffersonian Democracy

 Origin in factional opposition to

 Hamilton

Volume 14, Chapter VIII

Jeffersonian Democracy—Continued

Appeals to popular discontent

Volume 43, Pages 5-8

Jefferson's philosophy

Volume 15, Pages 19-22

The Whiskey Insurrection, 1794

Volume 14, Pages 182-187

Western mountaineers and the excise

Hamilton's military demonstration

The maintenance of national authority

Politics

Volume 14, Pages 187-194

The disruption of Washington's cabinet

The resignations of Jefferson and Hamilton

The intrigue of Randolph

French influences

The end of non-partisan government

Attacks on Washington

The Farewell Address

The presidency of John Adams

Volume 14, Chapter IX

The feud with Hamilton

A Hamiltonian cabinet

Friendship with Jefferson

The Alien and Sedition Acts

" Pages 215-221

War measures

Opposition by Jeffersonians

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions

The States Rights theory

The Revolution of 1800

Volume 14, Pages 223-226

Adams' grudge against Hamiltonians

The opposition of Hamilton to Adams

The success of the Jeffersonians

The decline of Federalism

Jefferson's Reforms

A Democratic etiquette

Volume 15, Chapter I

Olive branches for Federalists

Offices for Democrats

Appointments from New England

The triumvirate

" " II

Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin

The formulation of Republican policy

64 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Jefferson's Reforms—Continued

Appointments
Curtailement of taxes
Reduction of the army and navy

Intrigues of Burr and New England Federalists

Volume 15, Chapter VI

Plans for a northern confederacy
The duel between Hamilton and Burr
The death of Hamilton
The ruin of Burr
His conspiracy
The expedition to the Southwest
His associates
The traitor, Wilkinson
The dupe, Blennerhassett
The action of Jefferson
Wilkinson in New Orleans

The trial of Burr

Volume 16, Chapter IV

The National Judiciary

" " I

John Marshall, Chief Justice

" " II

The attack by Jefferson

" " III

The repeal of the Federalist Judiciary Act

The refusal of Marbury's commission

The impeachment of Chase

Burr, President of the Senate

Jeffersonian bribes

The failure to convict Chase

The resistance of Marshall

Great decisions

Judicial review

Marbury versus Madison, 1803

" " Pages 66-71

Treason

The trial of Burr, 1807

" " Chapter IV

Jeffersonian Ideas of Education

Volume 33, Chapter VI

State support of free schools

A free and secular university

The University of Virginia

The Jeffersonian curriculum

CHAPTER IX

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW NATIONALISM

WHEN John Adams of New England turned over the government to the Virginian planter, Thomas Jefferson, one half of the great task of creating a nation had been well advanced toward completion. The machinery of a central government had been provided in the Constitution and had been set in motion by Washington and Hamilton. By 1801, it was functioning with considerable efficiency. If the new United States, however, were to look forward to stability and permanent independence, something more than merely an efficient government would be needed. Political independence must be supplemented by economic self-sufficiency. This did not mean that all trade ties with the outer world should be broken; on the contrary, they must be strengthened. It did mean, however, that the people of America should, in an emergency, be able to produce all the food, raw materials, and

manufactured articles necessary to maintain the life of the nation unimpaired. It fell to the lot of the Democratic-Republicans, led by Jefferson and Madison, to guide the American people through such an emergency.

A foretaste of the difficulties ahead was given by the increased insolence and aggressiveness of the Barbary pirates who seemed able to jeopardize American commerce at will. The time came, almost at the outset of Jefferson's administration, when the United States could no longer brook this menace. After a display of American naval power, the corsairs were willing to make fair promises. While Decatur and Bainbridge were active in the Mediterranean the settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee were watching with growing apprehension the return of the vast territory of Louisiana from Spanish to French control. Napoleon had secured possession of the mouth of the Mississippi. President Jefferson promptly undertook to purchase the island of New Orleans from the Corsican, in order that Americans might deposit their goods while they were being transferred from river boats to ocean-going ships. But Louisiana had suddenly become less attractive to the French, and Napoleon sold the whole territory to the amazed Americans.

So the stage was set for that population movement across the broad valley of the Mississippi which was one of the most striking episodes in the history of the United States. The Americans had scarcely grasped their good fortune when they found themselves caught in the maelstrom of a world war.

England and France were again at war, and this time there was to be no respite until Napoleon had fallen. At first the war brought prosperity to the American shipmasters who became the leading neutral traders. But there were insults and injuries on the high seas from both belligerents. By 1807 these had become unbearable. The peaceful Jefferson retaliated. By an economic boycott, he hoped to starve Europe into a respect for American rights. But his efforts failed to keep the United States out of war. For five years the troubles continued; then the young "war hawks" who had come out of the West forced the weak President Madison into decisive action. The West coveted Florida and Canada and was bitter against the British for their incitement of Indian raids on frontier settlements. The United States declared war.

With an empty treasury and military affairs in a muddle, the United States set out to conquer

Canada and combat the British fleet on the high seas. Disaster awaited the American armies in Canada. The British navy ultimately bottled up American merchantmen and warships in port but not until the union jack had been hauled down from more than one proud frigate and American privateers had become the scourge of the British merchant fleet. In the treaty of peace were mentioned none of the important issues which had brought on the war. Yet events proved that it marked the end of an era.

The second war with England, itself, profoundly affected American life. The United States had been practically cut off from the manufactures of Europe. On the Atlantic slope, particularly in maritime New England, industries to supply the resulting need had sprung up. Eastern manufacturers took a new and lively interest in the West where lay a constantly expanding market for their wares. In addition, the end of war in Europe cleared the seas of hostile warships and allowed the American merchant marine to develop unmolested. To the people who lived on the plains west of the mountains, the War of 1812 gave opportunity to destroy the military power of strong Indian tribes east of the Mississippi and thus to

open for settlement large areas of fertile land. The war removed the British threat on the northern frontier and on the south gave opportunity to force the Spaniard out of West Florida. This paved the way for the ultimate purchase of East Florida. America, which had hitherto looked toward Europe, now turned squarely about to face the West and, ignoring to a large extent the affairs of the world, bent to the task of creating a nation in a wilderness.

It was the beginning of a new national consciousness, a feeling of self-sufficiency and isolation. Throwing aside for the moment the sectionalism which had led New England to the verge of secession at the Hartford Convention, the American people sought to bind the agricultural sections of the West with the industrial section in the East and stand apart from the world. The old Federalist party which had retired from the national position of Hamilton upon the sectional interest of New England was broken and discredited.

The new nationalism was voiced in the decisions of Chief Justice Marshall which again and again asserted the supremacy of the federal over state governments. President Monroe proclaimed it to

70 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

the world in the doctrine which Americans have come to call the cornerstone of their foreign policy. In the field of literature and learning, as well, this new nationalism was given expression. American men of letters at last received a European audience. American educators began to construct the school system which has become so typical of American nationhood.

American Commerce and Barbary Pirates

Volume 15, Chapter III

- Captain Bainbridge and tribute
- The blockade of Tripoli
 - The Philadelphia
 - Bainbridge, captive
 - The exploit of Decatur
- The bombardment of the Pasha's stronghold
- The adventure of William Eaton
 - An international army
 - The march across the desert
 - The capture of Derne
- Lear's treaty
 - The purchase of peace

The Acquisition of Louisiana

“ “ IV

- The Treaty of San Ildefonso, 1800
 - Retrocession to France
 - Alarm in America
 - The restoration of a French empire
- The importance of San Domingo
 - Toussaint L'Ouverture
 - Revolt from France
- The advances of Jefferson
 - An offer for the island of New Orleans
 - The interests of the western settlers

The Acquisition of Louisiana—Continued

The withdrawal of the right of deposit by the
Spanish authorities

The special mission of Monroe

Napoleon's change of plans

The offer to Livingston

The purchase by the United States

Boundaries

Government

The constitutionality of the purchase

Volume 43, Page 8

Neutral Rights in the Napoleonic Wars

British practices

Volume 15, Chapter VII

Desertion from the Royal Navy

Refuge on American merchantmen

Impressment

Volume 36, Pages 107-116

The right of search

The right of expatriation

Restrictions on the West India trade

The Rule of 1756

"Broken voyages"

The case of the *Essex*, 1805

The *Leander* incident, 1806

The wrath of the American people

Jefferson's proclamation

The affair of the Chesapeake and *Leopard*, 1807

National fury

Jefferson indignant but not martial

Jeffersonian Pacifism and Peaceable Coercion

Volume 15, Chapter VIII

Monroe, ambassador to Great Britain

Commercial restrictions, the American weapon

William Pinkney, co-laborer with Monroe

Negotiations

Restoration of trade with the French West Indies

Abolition of impressment

Indemnity for seizures under the *Essex* ruling

Jefferson's disgust with their first agreement

72 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Jeffersonian Pacifism and Peaceable Coercion—Continued

- The second negotiation
 - Reparation for the Chesapeake
 - Abolition of impressment
 - The sarcasm of Canning
- The struggle between Great Britain and France
 - Effects on neutral trade
 - The British blockade of French ports
 - Successive Orders-in-Council
 - French retaliation
 - Napoleonic decrees
 - Berlin, 1806
 - Milan, 1807
 - The American defence against Great Britain
 - The embargo, 1807
 - Napoleonic irony
 - The Bayonne decree, 1808
 - The effect of the embargo
 - Evasion and violation by American citizens
- The failure of peaceable coercion
 - The repeal of the embargo
 - The Non-Intercourse Act, 1809
- Madison, successor of Jefferson Volume 15, Chapter IX
 - British ministers at Washington
 - Erskine's promises
 - Repudiation by Great Britain
 - Jackson's failure
- A Congressional way of escape
 - Macon's Bill No. 2
 - Napoleon's response
 - Revocation of his decrees
 - Continued confiscation
- Madison's ill-advised decision
 - His acceptance of Napoleonic promises
 - Restrictions directed against Great Britain
 - Painful misgivings
 - The ebb of confidence in Madison
- The reconstruction of the cabinet
 - The elimination of the Smith faction

Jeffersonian Pacifism and Peaceable Coercion—Continued

- The retention of Gallatin
- The alliance with the chief opposition
 - Monroe, Secretary of State
 - Tacit promise of the presidency
 - A stronger front toward Europe
- The rise of the war spirit in America
 - The affair of the President and the Little Belt
 - Vengeance for the Chesapeake
 - The discomfiture of the new British minister
 - The disavowal of the Leopard

The War Hawks

- Western aggressiveness
 - Desire for Florida
 - Bitterness toward Great Britain
 - Contempt for British strength in Canada
 - "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights" in the background^d
- British collusion with the Indians
 - The menace to the frontier
 - The battle of Tippecanoe, 1811
 - Harrison and Tecumseh
- Pressure upon Madison
 - The renomination
 - The declaration of war with Great Britain
 - British repeal of the Orders-in-Council

The War of 1812

- Distress at Washington
 - Inadequate preparation
 - Incompetence of the executive
 - Bankruptcy of the Treasury
 - Disaffection of New England
 - The Hartford Convention, 1814
- Military aspects of the war
 - The invasions of Canada
 - Hull against Brock at Detroit, 1812
 - British control of the Northwest
 - Harrison against Procter in Upper
 - Canada, 1813

Volume 15, Chapter XI

Volume 19, Pages 151-160

Volume 17, Chapter I

Volume 17, Chapter II

74 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The War of 1812—Continued

The assistance of Perry on Lake Erie
The battle of the Thames
The death of Tecumseh

Campaigns about Niagara and Lake

Ontario

Volume 17, Chapter IV

Defeat at Queenston Heights, 1812

The failure of Dearborn on Lake Ontario,
May, 1813

Brown's defence of Sackett's Harbor, 1813

Operations against Montreal, Nov., 1813

Wilkinson down the St. Lawrence

Hampton from Lake Champlain

The fiasco of Chrystler's Farm

The year 1814

The last invasion of Canada

Brown and Scott across Niagara River

Chippewa

Lundy's Lane

The British advance on Lake Champlain

The blunders of Armstrong

Prevost before Plattsburg

Macdonough's defence

The retirement of the British

British operations in Chesapeake Bay

“ “ X

Bladensburg

The burning of Washington

The bombardment of Baltimore

The Star Spangled Banner

American campaigns in the Southwest

Volume 20, Chapter II

Desire for West Florida

Volume 17, Chapter X

Tecumseh's visit to the Creeks

The massacre of Fort Mims

Horseshoe Bend, 1814

Jackson in Florida

The British at Pensacola

The battle of Mobile

The War of 1812—Continued

Jackson's frontiersmen

The battle of New Orleans, Jan. 8, 1815

Naval aspects of the war

Perry's victory on Lake Erie, 1813 Volume 17, Chapter III

Strategic importance

The safety of the Northwest

American frigates on the high seas " " V

The Constitution

The escape from the British fleet

The duel with the *Guerrière*

The United States " " VI

The fight with the *Macedonian*The Constitution and the *Java*

The Chesapeake " " VII

The defeat by the *Shannon*The *Essex* " " VIII

British naval policy Pages 140-150

Convoys for merchant fleets

Fleet maneuvers

The blockade of American ports

The capture of the President

American privateers Volume 36, Chapter VII

The "Blockade of London"

Roamers in the English Channel and the Irish Sea

The destruction of British commerce

Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain

Strategic importance Volume 17, Chapter IX

Safety for New England and

New York Pages 175-184

The Treaty of Peace

Volume 15, Chapter XII

The negotiators at Ghent

Clashing personalities

British demands for an Indian state between Canada
and the United StatesThe questions of boundaries, impressment, fisheries,
navigation of the Mississippi, slave trade

Effect of the news from Bladensburg and Plattsburg

76 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Treaty of Peace—Continued

The opinion of the Duke of Wellington

Terms of the settlement

“Peace — and nothing more?” Volume 36, Pages 131-132

Succeeding conventions:

Following the peace of Ghent, Great Britain and the United States came to three agreements. The commercial convention of 1815 provided for reciprocal trade between the United States and the British Isles and between the United States and British East Indian possessions. Great Britain still denied to the American people the trade that, as subjects of the Crown, they had once enjoyed with the British West Indies. The agreement of 1817 provided for disarmament of the Great Lakes. The convention of 1818 made regulations for American participation in the shore fisheries of Labrador, it ran the Canadian boundary from the Lake of the Woods along the 49° latitude to the Rocky Mountains, and stipulated that the Oregon country beyond should be held in joint occupation for ten years.

The New Nationalism

Volume 20, Pages 138-139

Monroe, Nationalist President

Volume 43, Pages 8-10

His election

Volume 15, Chapter XIII

His cabinet

Adams, Secretary of State

Calhoun, Secretary of War

The disappointment of Clay

The bargain for Florida

Jackson in Florida

Volume 20, Chapter III

The Spaniard, Callava

The triumph of Adams

The growth of a nation

Volume 19, Pages 160-171

The birth of new states

The development of transportation

The steamboat

Volume 21, Chapter VII

The Cumberland Road

“ “ VIII

Internal Improvements

Madison's veto

Calhoun's Bonus Bill

Volume 20, Page 139

The Erie Canal

The New Nationalism—Continued

Chief Justice Marshall's doctrine of nationalism

The national bank

Volume 16, Chapter V

McCulloch versus Maryland, 1819

Interstate commerce

Gibbons versus Ogden, 1824

Foreign commerce

Brown versus Maryland, 1826

The rights of property

Fletcher versus Peck, 1810

" " VI

The Dartmouth College Case, 1819

The restriction of state sovereignty

" " VII

Martin versus Hunter's Lessee, 1816

Decision by Story

Cohens versus Virginia, 1821

Craig versus Missouri, 1830

Georgia and the Indian cases, 1830-1832

Marshall in private life

" " VIII

The foreign policy of the new nation Volume 15, Chapter XIV

Zeal for emancipation of South America

from Spanish control

Impatience with British claims in Oregon

Counters to Russian claims on the Pacific

The problem of Cuba

The plans of the Holy Alliance

Rejection by Great Britain

British overtures to the United States

A separate course—The Monroe Doctrine

Volume 46, Chapter I

The European system

No further colonization in America

No interference with American republics

The American system

No meddling with European affairs

No interference with existing colonies in America

Conclusions

Two separate worlds

The United States, leader in the western world

The self-appointed guardian

78 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

A European Audience for American Men of Letters

Volume 34, Chapter V

America become articulate
The North American Review
Washington Irving
His vogue in England
His sojourn in Spain
James Fenimore Cooper
A contemporary rival of Scott
William Cullen Bryant
Poet and journalist

The Schools of the New Nation

Volume 33, Chapter VIII

The public school system
School districts
Secondary schools
Academies and high schools
Textbooks
Noah Webster's speller
Jedediah Morse's geography
Great educators
Horace Mann's contribution
The Massachusetts Board
Mann's reports
The training of teachers
Normal schools
The President of Antioch College
Henry Barnard
His services to Connecticut
The Chancellor of Wisconsin University
DeWitt Clinton and the free school
The Free School Society
Opposition to sectarian schools
The contest in Pennsylvania
Thaddeus Stevens

“ “ IX

“ “ X

CHAPTER X

SECTIONALISM AND JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

ALTHOUGH the task of creating an efficient central government had been practically completed and the foundations of economic self-sufficiency firmly laid, the people of America still faced difficult work. Theirs was a country of great distances; it took weeks, sometimes months, to travel on horseback and by stage-coach from outlying communities to the national capital. The broad barrier of the Appalachians divided the country into East and West; climatic differences created a North and South. The frontiersmen were ever on the move westward. Even before the presidency of Jackson, pioneers had settled beyond the Mississippi and advanced toward the towering Rockies. As the new nation finally shook off its dependence upon Europe, it faced the problem of preventing disintegration at home. Each section possessed an area sufficient for the creation of a nation of

respectable size, measured by European standards, and had peculiar interests that made such a development far from unlikely.

As the restless elements of New England and the Old South moved westward the contrast of sectional interests came into sharp relief. New Englanders soon outnumbered the earlier pioneers from the South in the new states north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. The Northwest became a land of small farms and little manufacturing industries based upon free labor. The cotton planters of the Old South advanced into the Gulf region and modified the earlier frontier society. Alabama and Mississippi became cotton-producing states dependent upon the plantation system and slave labor. The competition of New Englanders and Southerners for the West came to a deadlock over the admission of Missouri as a slave state. The resulting compromise maintained the balance of northern and southern representation in the Senate of the United States, but did not banish the specter of disintegration.

The flame of nationalism still mounted high. The Federalist party, discredited by its sectional opposition to the War of 1812, had ceased to be of national significance in 1814. During the two

administrations of Monroe, America had one political party, the Democratic-Republican party of Jefferson. It was the "era of good feeling." Under the surface, however, the Jeffersonian organization was breaking into factions centered about rival leaders, each leader representing a section. Out of the turmoil were eventually to rise two new parties, Democratic and Whig. The storm broke in 1824 when five aspirants sought the presidency. John Quincy Adams stood as the candidate of New England, Calhoun of the Old South, Clay for the West, and Crawford as heir to the Virginian succession. The fifth claimant to recognition was Andrew Jackson. The victorious commander at New Orleans paraded before the country as a national hero. In reality, he typified the rugged democracy, the social and economic equality of the frontier, for as yet the West was not definitely broken into Northern and Southern areas. Jacksonian Democracy was a manifestation of nationalism only in the sense that the interests of the West must be seen as the best interests of the nation. Jackson secured the largest popular vote, but he was deprived of the presidency. Adams and Clay joined to place the New Englander in the White House. Clay

became Secretary of State. Jackson's followers swore revenge for the "corrupt bargain" and began immediately to construct a party-machine that would control the next election.

Although he had won the presidency by a sectional coalition, Adams strove to make his administration national in character; but he, in turn, was overthrown by an alliance of sections. Calhoun became Jackson's running mate for the campaign of 1828. The cotton planters of the Old South joined with the frontiersmen from beyond the mountains to form the new Democratic party. For eight years Jackson maintained political mastery such as few presidents have achieved while his party enjoyed the spoils of partisan government. The Old South had expected that Jackson would break down the tariff walls built by the protectionist interests of Clay and Adams. Jackson's nationalism, however, was not hollow sound. When some of his allies in the Old South threatened to nullify the national tariff law, he joined with his political opponents, Clay and Webster, to put down this menace to the nation. But he opposed them, at the same time, in his war upon the Bank of the United States. This institution, enjoying a monopoly of national finance

and paying its dividends to Eastern aristocrats and foreign capitalists, made an admirable victim for the altar of western democracy.

Jackson, abandoning Calhoun and the southern planters, designated Martin Van Buren as his successor and secured his election in 1836. It fell to his lot to reap the whirlwind that the Jacksonian policies had sown in destroying the Bank and encouraging the "pet banks" to speculate with national funds. The Panic of 1837, in part the result of such unsound measures, paralyzed the country's business. As a remedy for national distress, Van Buren urged the establishment of the Sub-treasury system to safeguard public funds. With some modification that system has remained to the present time. Jackson also left to Van Buren the necessity of grasping the Texan nettle. If he did not recognize revolutionary Texas as independent of Mexico, the slave holders of the South and the expansionists of the West would turn upon him. If he did so, the wrath of the East where antislavery opinions were growing would be aroused. Van Buren chose the latter course as the lesser danger. Jackson handed on to his successor a third problem, the continuance of Jacksonian Democracy in power. In 1836, the

opponents of Jacksonism had found a common name as Whigs, but the rival factions had been unable to decide upon a single candidate. By 1840, however, they united in the choice of General William Henry Harrison, a military hero, representing the nationalist enthusiasm of the West. With an uproarious campaign for "True Democracy," in which hard cider flowed abundantly, the Whigs drove Van Buren and the Jacksonians from power.

The Sharpening of Sectional Consciousness

- The specter of slavery Volume 28, Chapter I
- The colonial inheritance
- The doctrine of the American Revolution
- The compromise of the Constitution
- Geographical division
 - Changing sentiments
 - The economic basis of slavery
 - Cotton
 - The prohibition of the slave trade
- The Missouri Compromise Volume 15, Chapter XV
- A "reprieve"
- Clashing interests Volume 19, Chapter X
- North and South Volume 15, Pages 311-313
- The split of the Southwest from the Northwest
 - Cotton culture versus small farming and manufacturing
- The newer Northwest
 - The dominance of migration from New England
- Issues
 - Internal improvements
 - Tariffs
 - The national bank

The Sharpening of Sectional Consciousness—Continued

Local forms of government

Slavery

Schemes of compromise from the Northwest

The Figure of Andrew Jackson

The frontiersman

Volume 20, Chapter I

The general

Against the British

" " II

Against the Spanish

" " III

The Rhea letter

Official censure

Private satisfaction

Volume 15, Pages 278-280

Jackson's campaign at Washington

The antagonism of Clay

The governor of Florida

Volume 20, Chapter III

The Election of 1824

" " IV

Personal politics in the "Era of Good Feeling"

The national hero, Jackson Compare Volume 43, Pages 8-10

His political managers

The rivalry of the sections

Adams for New England

Crawford, heir to the Virginian succession

Calhoun, representative of the Old South

Clay, "Harry of the West"

The passing of the Congressional caucus

Compare Volume 43, Pages 22-23

Nominations by state legislatures

Canvass by political managers

The creation of the Jacksonian machine

Calhoun's alliance with Jackson

The nomination of the Pennsylvania convention

The "Keystone state"

Jackson's procession toward Washington

News of the returns

The deadlock

Election by the House of Representatives

The alliance of Clay with Adams

86 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Election of 1824—Continued

The charge of "corrupt bargain"

The selection of Adams over Jackson

The Coalition of Adams and Clay in Power Volume 20, Chapter V

Popular disapproval

Pages 95-106

The growing demand for election of presidents by
the people

The effect of the "corrupt bargain"

The Puritan as President

Baffled spoilsmen

Adams' conception of the civil service

Adams' program: liberal construction of the Constitution

National expenditures for roads and canals

A national university

Protective tariffs

Sale of public lands at market price

Proceeds for general welfare

The Panama Congress

Conference with South American republics

The reluctance of Adams

The influence of Clay

Jacksonian opposition

Plans for 1828

Jackson, personal leader of his campaign

His following

Western Democrats

Calhoun's followers

Crawford's old supporters

Van Buren and the New York contingent

Adams, Georgia, and the Indians Volume 20, Pages 201-208

The compact of 1802

Georgia and the United States

The Indian Springs Treaty of 1825

Governor Troup and the President

New Treaties with the Creeks

The Tariff of Abominations and the Election of 1828

Changing opinions in South Carolina Volume 20, Chapter VIII

- The Tariff of Abominations and the Election of 1828*—Continued
- The effect of competition with new cotton lands on the Gulf Volume 20, Pages 158-163
 - The burden of protective tariffs
 - The tariff of 1824
 - The proposals of 1827
 - The scheme of 1828
 - Its failure
 - The alliance of Calhoun and Jackson
 - The hopes of the Old South
 - The election of 1828 “ Pages 106-112
Volume 43, Pages 11-12
 - Jacksonian Democracy in Power* Volume 20, Chapter VI
 - The court of King Andrew
 - Suppliants seeking offices
 - The day of the common man
 - Jackson's inauguration
 - His cabinet
 - Van Buren, Secretary of State
 - The Kitchen Cabinet
 - Jackson's conception of the civil service
 - The clean sweep
 - Rotation in office
 - Calhoun overshadowed by Van Buren
 - Talk of Jackson's second term
 - Breach of promise to Calhoun
 - “The Little Magician”
 - The Eaton affair
 - The revelation of Calhoun's part in Monroe's censure of Jackson, 1818
 - Jackson's break with Calhoun, 1830
 - Reorganization of the cabinet
 - The great debate Volume 20, Chapter VII
 - Webster for the North and Union
 - Hayne for the South and States Rights
 - The contest of political theories
 - The stakes
 - The adherence of the West

88 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

People now knew what Webster and the East had for reply to Hayne and the Old South. What would be the response of western democracy and its President, Andrew Jackson? Jackson dismayed the Old South with his famous toast: "Our Union!—It must be preserved!"

Nullification and Compromise

The grievance of South Carolina

Rising tariffs

The declining price of cotton

Means of resistance: Nullification

The compact theory and state sovereignty

Calhoun's Exposition, 1828

The riddle of Jackson's opinion

His toast to the Union, April 12, 1830

Calhoun's reply

The struggle of South Carolina

Division within the state

The tariff proposals of 1832

The Convention, Nov. 19, 1832

The ordinance of nullification

Jackson's proclamation, Dec. 10

Calhoun's resignation of the Vice-Presidency

Senator from South Carolina

Warlike preparations

Refusal of other Southern states to join South
Carolina

Jackson's Force Bill

The way of escape

New tariff legislation

The Verplanck bill

Clay's Compromise of 1833

Reduction by stages until 1842

The end of nullification

The object of attack gone

Nullification of the Force Bill

The victory undecided

Destruction of the National Bank

An aristocratic institution

Volume 20, Chapter IX

Destruction of the National Bank—Continued

The record of the Second Bank of the United States

Democratic venom

The uncertainty of Jackson's opinion

The resistance of Biddle

The Portsmouth affair

The campaign in Congress, 1832

The re-charter bill

Jackson's veto

Antimasonry:

A third party entered the national campaign of 1832. The mysterious disappearance of William Morgan in Western New York during 1826 was blamed upon the Masonic order. The resulting tumult gave opportunity for a few leaders to organize the protest of the community against Masonry into a political party for the purpose of overturning the established order. Antimasonry spread rapidly into Pennsylvania and New England. It gathered up discontented elements from every quarter to champion reform. Its candidate for the presidency in 1832 was William Wirt, once attorney general under Monroe. The Antimasons held a national nominating convention in 1831, and since then, national party conventions have been in general use.

The presidential election of 1832

The rise of the national nominating convention

Volume 43, Pages 16, 23-27

Clay against Jackson

Issue: the Bank

Volume 40, Page 27

The triumph of Jackson

Jackson's mandate from the people

Removal of the deposits, 1833

McLane, Duane, and Taney

The pet banks

Senatorial censure

The end of the Bank

Jackson, Georgia, and the Indians

Volume 20, Chapter X

Inheritance from Adams

The Cherokee problem

90 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Jackson, Georgia, and the Indians—Continued

Discovery of gold

The horde of white men

Jackson's convictions

Removal to the West

His support of Georgia

Marshall's decisions

Volume 16, Pages 193-197

Protection for the Indian

Jackson's refusal to enforce the decision of the Court

Georgia's nullification

Whereas Jackson was vehement in opposition to nullification of a federal statute by South Carolina, he ignored Georgia's nullification of a federal judicial decision. Perhaps personal antipathies toward Calhoun, leader of nullification in South Carolina, and Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, explain even if they do not reconcile the inconsistencies of the President.

The Indian migrations across the Mississippi

Volume 20, Pages 214-216

Treaties of cession

The Indian Territory

The Black Hawk War, 1832

Jackson and Foreign Affairs

The United States had failed in repeated attempts since the Revolution to gain admission for its vessels into the direct trade with the British West Indies. The administration of John Quincy Adams had neglected to take advantage of an offer from Great Britain, and it had been withdrawn. Jackson's administration reopened negotiations and conducted them so skilfully that at last American vessels were allowed to participate in the West Indian trade.

Jackson also secured a settlement of claims against France arising out of depredations upon American commerce during the Napoleonic wars. Under the reign of Louis Philippe in 1831, France agreed to a treaty, but the French chamber of deputies made no appropriation of funds to meet the payments agreed upon. Jackson controlled his irritation until 1834 and then

recommended to Congress reprisals upon French property. France became angry, recalled its minister, and demanded an apology from Jackson. He remained firm but gave France a loophole for escape from humiliation. Great Britain's offer of mediation was accepted and the American claims soon paid.

Martin Van Buren

Volume 20, Chapter XI

The retirement of Jackson

The succession of 1836

The platform: Jackson's record

The man: Van Buren

His career

Volume 43, Pages 27-33

The opposition

The beginnings of the Whig party

Volume 20, Pages 225-227

Four sectional candidates

Webster in New England

Harrison in the Northwest

White in the Southwest

McLean in Ohio

The election of Van Buren

His administration

Volume 20, Pages 199-200

The whirlwind: the panic of 1837

Jackson's financial policy

Pet banks

Land sales

The specie circular, July 11, 1836

Van Buren's remedy

The Independent Treasury

The Texan nettle

Volume 24, Chapter V

The recognition of Texan independence

Jackson's hesitancy

Van Buren's responsibility

The opposition of New England to the extension of slave territory

The part of Great Britain

Investments in Mexico

Annexation of Texas to the United States least desirable

92 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Jacksonian Rule in Jeopardy

The problem of Van Buren's re-election

Volume 20, Pages 232-233

The little aristocrat from New York

Harrison and the Whigs

A military hero

"True Democracy"

The campaign of 1840

For the Whigs — "Down with Van Burenism"

"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too"

For the Democrats

The record of twelve years

The Liberty Party

Volume 28, Pages 88-89

Political abolitionists

Omen of the future

The election of Harrison

"An Indignation President"

The career of the Whigs

Volume 20, Page 200

Volume 28, Chapters VI, VII

Volume 24, Pages 106, 157-159

Volume 27, Pages 125-127

Harrison died a month after his inauguration. Tyler, an old "States Rights" Democrat whose opposition to Jackson had placed him among the Whigs, became President. But Clay considered himself the director of Whig policies and announced the program: repeal of the sub-treasury law, creation of a national bank, and restoration of protective tariffs. Tyler gave his assent to the first measure but opposed the others so firmly that Clay's followers read the President out of the Whig party. Tyler then took Calhoun and pro-slavery Democrats into his administration.

In the campaign of 1844, Clay was the Whig candidate. He attempted to hold the middle ground that the annexation of Texas would not necessarily mean the extension of slavery. Both Northern and Southern men lost confidence in him. With a frank demand for national expansion Polk won the election for the Democratic party. In opposition to Polk's administration the Whigs vainly resisted the re-establishment of the sub-

treasury system and the reduction of tariff duties. When war with Mexico broke out, "conscience Whigs" in the North urged the Wilmot Proviso that territories acquired from Mexico should not be open for the extension of slavery.

The Whig party evaded the slavery issue in the presidential campaign of 1848 and nominated the military hero, General Zachary Taylor. Many northern Whigs bolted from the party to form a coalition with anti-slavery Democrats, the Free Soil party, in support of Van Buren. His candidacy hurt the chances of the regular Democratic nominee, Cass, and assured the election of Taylor. Once more in control of the national government, the Whigs were obliged to settle the controversy over the territory acquired from Mexico. Clay's compromise measures arranged for such a settlement but included a stringent fugitive slave law which "conscience Whigs" could never obey. But Southern Whigs insisted that the Compromise of 1850 must be final. On that rock the Whig party met shipwreck. Party leaders endeavored to steer the party through the treacherous waters. Georgian Whigs wrote the party platform of 1852. The nomination was given to another military hero, General Winfield Scott. But enough Southern Whigs abandoned the party to throw the election to the Democratic "dark horse," General Pierce of New Hampshire. The Whig party never again put a candidate in the field. Young Whigs in the North joined the new Republican party. Older Whigs turned half-heartedly to the Know Nothing party and supported Fillmore in the election of 1856. Then they joined the Constitutional Union party of 1860. In the South, old Whigs had a momentary sojourn in the Know Nothing party, but sooner or later united with the Democrats.

CHAPTER XI

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, AND THE TARIFF TO THE CIVIL WAR

THE four and one half decades that elapsed between the Peace of Ghent and the outbreak of the Civil War saw great changes in the commercial and industrial life of America. Packet ships from Boston to New York hurried back and forth across the Atlantic on regular schedules. Great clipper ships, the glory of the old merchant marine, rounded Cape Horn, looked in at San Francisco in the days of the gold rush, and vied with all comers for the trade of the Orient. Whalers from Sag Harbor, Nantucket, and New Bedford could be found on every ocean. Few were the sea-lanes that did not know the American flag in the Forties and Fifties. In the same years that Yankee clippers were establishing contact with the ports of the world, home-staying Americans were binding the nation together with improved communication.

With the opening of the Nineteenth Century came the first good roads movement which created, particularly in the East, a network of turnpikes. The great Cumberland road across the mountains bound the seaboard to the rich interior lowland. The canal followed hard upon the heels of the new highway and, in 1825, when a line of cannon from Buffalo to New York boomed out the completion of the Erie Canal, opened a new era in transportation. East and West alike felt the change. State after state became familiar with the canal boat and the tow-path. Already had begun the utilization of the vast river system of the Mississippi Valley. From the days of the first Kentucky settlements, flat boats and keel boats had floated down the Ohio and the Mississippi bearing produce and immigrants. With the coming of the steamboat, new monsters appeared upon the inland rivers carrying heavy cargoes between the Northwest and the South.

In the latter region, following the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, cotton growing had spread from the Atlantic coast plain, first to the uplands of the Piedmont, and then on into the rich country of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. With cotton had gone the plantation system and slav-

ery. When the Eighteenth Century ended, it seemed as though slavery was doomed, but the prosperity founded on cotton gave it new life. Southern leaders, from apologizing for it as a necessary evil, came to look upon it as a positive good.

While Southern culture was spreading through the Southwest, a transformation was occurring in the North and East. Industrialism had made its appearance shortly before the War of 1812, and the new factory was appearing from New England to the Ohio Valley. Industry brought with it the problem of labor. Streams of immigrants from Europe fed the mills of America with unskilled workmen who congregated in towns and cities in little foreign groups unfamiliar with American ways. It was inevitable that class-consciousness should develop and that the laborers, individually weak, should attempt collective action to gain their ends, shorter hours and more pay. In the hard times of 1837 many of these early unions went to pieces but, as the country recovered and work became more plentiful, labor organizations again became active. Here and there in America during this period of growth appeared utopian experiments, communistic societies of the literati at

Brook Farm and of common folk in New Harmony.

The country was more amused than alarmed over these social experiments, but the problem of the tariff which was so interwoven with the social and political life of the people was no trivial matter. From the beginning under the Constitution, the principle of protection for American industries had entered into public policy. When the wave of nationalist feeling swept over the land after the War of 1812, protection became the cardinal doctrine of Henry Clay's "American System." When the coalition of Clay and Adams came to power, the promotion of the industrial interests of their sections was assured. The controversy over high tariffs grew intense. Protection became one of the chief issues in the election of 1828. The South expected that Jackson would check the protectionist movement. But Jackson did not put a stop to Congressional pyramiding of tariff duties. Some of his allies in the Old South broke away from his party. Calhoun tried, in 1832, the weapon of nullification to defend the interests of his section. Clay then brought forward his compromise plan of a ten-year truce. Protection was to be whittled down gradually. At the end of the

decade, however, Clay sought to restore the protective principle to former vigor. The tariff of 1842 provided for an increase of duties, but the Democratic victory of 1844 put an end to Clay's plans. Thereafter the Democratic tariffs of 1846 and 1857 were the law of the land, and they looked away from protection toward the ideal of free trade. On the eve of the Civil War, the new Republican party made good its maiden promises to the manufacturers. The Morrill tariff, portent of the future, definitely aimed to establish the protective principles.

Ocean Transportation

Volume 36, Chapter VIII

The packet ships of the forties

The first liners to Europe

American ships and officers

Foreign crews

Displacement by steamers

English competition

Cunard versus Collins

The failure of Congress to meet British subsidies

The age of the clipper ship

Volume 36, Chapter IX

American supremacy

Successful competition with British merchantmen
in the Orient

The tea trade

The California gold rush

The voyage around Cape Horn

The scarcity of deep-water sailors

The trials of a skipper

Ruffian crews

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, AND TARIFF 99

Ocean Transportation—Continued

The effect of the Panic of 1857 and the Civil War	
The demoralization of American shipping	
The whalers of New Bedford	Volume 36, Pages 179-184
The coastwise trade	" Chapter X
Fishing on the Grand Banks	
Yankee shipmasters in Southern ports	

Inland Transportation

The development before the use of steam	
Rivers	Volume 21, Chapter III
Wagon roads	" " IV
The flatboat trade	" " V
River settlements	" " VI
The coming of steam	" " VII
Fulton and others	Volume 37, Pages 53-69
The penetration of the Appalachian Range	Volume 21, Chapter VIII
The Cumberland Road	
The Erie Canal	
Links between West and East	
The rivalry among Eastern states	" " IX
The contest of canals	
The advantage of New York	
The enterprise of Pennsylvania	
The effort of Maryland	
The effect upon the competing cities:	
New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore	
The transition to railroads	Volume 21, Pages 147-153
Transportation on the Great Lakes	" Chapter X
The first cargo carriers	
Canals to connect with world markets	
The activity of Ohio	
Lake Erie to the Ohio River	
Canadian competition	
The Welland canal	
The rivalry of the Hudson and the Saint Lawrence	
The call of the Mississippi	
The portage to Lake Michigan	

100 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Inland Transportation—Continued

- The canal
- The rise of Chicago
- The opening of the Lake Superior region
 - Copper and iron ore
 - Wheat, corn, and oats
 - Outlet through the Saint Mary's River Ship Canal
- The rapid improvement of ships and harbors
- The steamboat on western rivers Volume 21, Chapter XI
- Shreve's river craft
- The peculiarities of the Mississippi
 - The skill of the river pilot
- The heyday of the river trade
 - The servants of King Cotton
 - The luxuries of river travel
- Rival packet lines
 - Races on the Mississippi
- The gateway of Saint Louis
 - Trade with the South
 - Outlet for the traffic on the Missouri
 - Commerce over the Santa Fé and Oregon Trails
 - The overland route to Salt Lake
 - The Pony Express

The Cotton Gin and the Spread of Cotton Culture

Volume 37, Chapter II

- Difficulties of large production
 - Eli Whitney's invention
 - Infringers of his patent
- The enormous increase of production Volume 35, Pages 52-53
 - The spread to upland fields
- The advance of the Old South into the Gulf region
 - The increased value of slaves
 - The extension of the slave system
 - "A positive good" Volume 27, Chapter III

The Rise of Manufacturing

- The cotton mills of New England Volume 37, Chapter IV
- Slater and spinning machinery

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, AND TARIFF 101

The Rise of Manufacturing—Continued

Lowell and the power loom

The first mill at Waltham, Massachusetts, 1814

The founding of Lowell

An industrial city

Conditions of labor

The invention of the sewing machine

The career of Elias Howe

Singer and organization

The beginnings of shoe machinery

Manufacturing in the South Volume 27, Pages 44-47

The development of farm machinery Volume 37, Chapter V

The evolution of the plough

John Deere

James Oliver

Grain drills

The McCormick reaper

Sales organization Volume 39, Chapter VI

The thresher

The rubber industry Volume 37, Chapter VII

The career of Goodyear

The process of vulcanizing

Contributions of the American machine-shop

Volume 37, Chapter VIII

John Stevens, pioneer

Devices for railroads and steamboats

Eli Whitney's gun parts

Interchangeability

Machine tools

Colt's revolver

The impress of American methods on Great Britain

A view of American economic development at the opening of the Civil War Volume 37, Pages 123-127

American Labor

European antecedents Volume 40, Chapter I

American differences

The stream of immigration

102 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

American Labor—Continued

Irish	Volume 35, Chapter V
German	" " VI
Negro labor	" " III
The opportunity of the frontier	
Beginnings of collective feeling	Volume 40, Pages 21-40
Early strikes	
The demand for a ten-hour day	
Fuel for the Democratic party	
Cries against the aristocracy	
Conditions in the mills of Lowell	Volume 37, Pages 93-96
Observations of Charles Dickens	
A contrasting picture	Volume 40, Page 45
Changes following the panic of 1837	Volume 40, Chapter III
The effect of the panic	
Humanitarian experiments	
The revival of the labor movement	
Attempts at co-operative production	
Strikes	
The ten-hour day	
Social recognition	
Development of unions	
Extension to women	
The rapid rise of living costs	
Labor's demand for compensation	
The development of labor law	

The First American Tariffs

A safeguard for the new government	Volume 14, Pages 26-31
Source of revenue	
Incidental protection	
The troublous times of Jefferson	Volume 15, Chapters VIII-XI
Non-intercourse	
Embargo	
War	
Stimulation of American industry	Volume 37, Pages 88-91
The advent of peace	
Danger to American manufactures	
The dumping of British goods	

The First American Tariffs—Continued

The tariff of 1816

A check on British importation

Protection as the primary purpose

Nationalist enthusiasm

Calhoun

Sectional opposition

Webster and New England shipowners

The hard times of 1819. With the return of peace after the War of 1812, the United States entered a period of rapid development. The industries which had started under the protection of war counted upon the Tariff of 1816 to give them continued security against foreign manufactures. New settlers hurried to the western territories and bought large tracts of the public land. To finance the first payments on their homesteads, they borrowed from the small banks which sprang up in every locality like mushrooms. The American people were thrilled with the prospect of great wealth in the near future. But the development had been too rapid. Investments in land had gone beyond the possibility of immediate returns into speculation on future values. Banking became a craze. Sound principles were cast aside for "wildcat" schemes. The tariff of 1816 did not hold back the flood of British goods. They were poured upon the American market at such low prices that American industry could not compete. When therefore the Bank of the United States abandoned its policy of expansion, contracted its loans, and forced local banks to liquidate their debts, it precipitated a panic. The hollow structure of prosperity collapsed.

State legislatures and Congress at once sought remedies for the nation-wide distress. State laws placed taxes upon the Bank of the United States in retaliation for its coercion of local banks. Other legislation relieved debtors from immediate payment of their obligations. Congress revised the national land laws. The Act of 1820 reduced the price of public lands from \$2.00 to \$1.25 an acre, cut down the required amount of purchase from 160 to 80 acres, and abolished the credit system of sales. The Act of 1821 released those who had begun to purchase lands on partial payments from their contracts and gave

to them as much land as they had paid for. Then, Congress raised the tariff duties to protect American industry. Henry Clay championed the Tariff of 1820 and enunciated the principles of his "American System." Protective tariffs were necessary to assure a home market for American manufactures. The industrial states in the east should devote their energy to manufacturing, and the agricultural states in the west would supply them with foodstuffs in return for their manufactures. To bring about such co-operation and independence of foreign goods, Clay insisted that the two sections must be linked with turnpikes and canals, internal improvements. Further, the government should sell the western lands liberally to encourage agriculture. The "American System" had the appearance of a national policy. In reality, it was the program of a sectional alliance. The shipowners of the seaboard and the cotton-planters of the south drew together in opposition and demanded free-trade. The debate over succeeding tariffs revealed an increasingly bitter competition among sectional interests.

Competing sectional interests

The American System Volume 19, Pages 178-179

The demands of Clay for the West Volume 40, Page 27

The tariff of 1824 Volume 20, Pages 158-160

The compromise of the sections

Opponents of protection

Webster for the shipowners of New England

Hayne for the planters of the South

The Tariff of 1824 did not satisfy the producers of woolen goods. England reduced its tax on wool, making it possible for English manufacturers to lower prices and slip their goods into the American market at lower valuations, thus escaping the American duties which were levied *ad valorem*. In 1827 Mallory, a representative in Congress for the wool-growing state of Vermont, introduced a bill which proposed to tax woolen goods according to minimum valuations. Any article valued under the minimum in its class was taxed at that minimum rate. The bill was defeated in the Senate by the vote of Vice-President

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, AND TARIFF 105

Calhoun. Immediately the friends of protection rallied in convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to frame a program for national action. The presidential candidates of 1828 found that they must state their views. Adams was an outspoken protectionist. Jackson also committed himself to protection, with reservations. But Calhoun and the Southern opponents of protection seemed to count upon bringing Jackson over to their side, and they hoped to make the "Tariff of Abominations" too much for the stomach of New England.

The tariff of 1828

Reconsideration of the problem Pages 160-169

The intervening actions of Great Britain

Mallory's bill of 1827

The Harrisburg Convention

Pressure upon Jackson

His uncertainty

The "Tariff of Abominations"

Southern plans Volume 27, Page 12

Acceptance by New England

The changed opinion of Webster

The dismay of the South

Southern remonstrance

The South Carolina *Exposition*, Dec. 19, 1828

Calhoun, secret author

Southern disappointment in Jackson

Fixation of the principle of protection

Volume 20, Pages 169-178

The tariff of 1832

Revision of the duties

Reduction of revenue

The determination of South Carolina to oppose
the principle

Nullification

Peacemakers

The failure of Van Buren's friends

The Verplanck bill

The success of Clay

The Compromise of 1833

Pages 179-180

106 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The First American Tariffs—Continued

A sliding scale of duties until 1842

Protection subordinated to internal peace

Resumption of the demand for protection in 1842

Clay and the Whigs against President Tyler

Return of the Democrats to power

The Walker tariff, 1846

Reduction of duties

The tariff of 1857

The lowest point of protection

The panic of 1857

Volume 40, Pages 61-62

The effect on King Cotton

The Morrill tariff of 1861

Volume 29, Pages 77, 96

Campaign promises of the Republicans

Return to the protective principle

CHAPTER XII

THE NATIONAL BANK, FINANCE, AND THE EARLY RAILROADS

ON the eve of the second war with England, the Jeffersonian Republicans had discarded the first National Bank, which had been organized by the Federalist Hamilton. As a result, their government had to fight without adequate means to handle the financial problems that the war created. They tried to employ state banks as their fiscal agents. Chaos was inevitable. One of the first of the post-war problems, accordingly, was the establishment of a new national bank, the second Bank of the United States, modeled closely upon Hamilton's institution. Upon the return of peace, a craze for banking swept over the country with the wave of national enthusiasm. Speculation in western lands enticed local banks into unsound investments. Even the new Bank of the United States was led into the speculative dance for a

time, but it soon abandoned such a dangerous policy and set itself to conduct a conservative business and serve the nation. Its size and power, and its resistance to wildcat banking, brought upon it the hostility of the frontier people. When Jackson, representative of the West, came to the presidency, those western prejudices against aristocracy and privileged classes turned him against the Bank. He opposed its re-charter and took the national revenues from its control to deposit them with "pet banks." The Panic of 1837, in part a result of Jackson's actions, left a majority of the American people convinced that private institutions should not be allowed to handle public funds. Jackson's successor, Martin Van Buren, proposed the Independent Treasury to care for the government's money.

In the year of Jackson's election to the presidency the first railroad across the Appalachian mountains was begun. Yet it was not until the Forties that the new means of transportation began to come into its own. The canal boom had lasted from the completion of the successful Erie Canal in 1825 to the Panic of 1837. When prosperity came again it was the railroad rather than the tow-path that held public attention. A na-

tional system of communications spread an ever increasing web of tracks over the country from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi. With the discovery of gold in California transcontinental lines were talked of. In this expansion, the North far outstripped the South until the railroad had bound New England more closely to the Northwest than in a previous decade the Mississippi river had joined it to the South.

But the growth was too rapid for a new country. A temporary check came in the Panic of 1857 which brought distress and heavy losses to Northern industry and agriculture. King Cotton, however, escaped, and the Southerners reasoned that their section was economically unassailable. Disillusionment did not come to them until four years later, when the superior industrial and transportation facilities of the North told heavily in the war between the states. To the Confederacy, the war brought social and economic ruin. The North, though slowed down, continued to make economic progress.

The Story of the Bank of the United States

Origin

Volume 16, Pages 124-126

Early management

Volume 20, Pages 181-183

The share in the crisis of 1819

110 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Story of the Bank of the United States—Continued

The changed policy

The pressure on speculative enterprises

The enmity of democratic elements Volume 19, Page 179

States rights

McCulloch versus Maryland Volume 16, Pages 126-135

Osborn versus The United States Bank

Volume 16, Pages 189-190

Its course during the twenties

Volume 20, Pages 183-198

Nicholas Biddle

The charges of the Democrats

Political directors

The Portsmouth affair

Influence on Jackson

His message to Congress

Jackson's war on the Bank

Biddle's lobby for re-charter

Jackson's veto of the bill

The election of 1832

Volume 40, Page 27

"Removal of the Deposits"

The use of "Pet Banks"

The temptation to speculate

The Panic of 1837

Volume 20, Pages 199-200

The causes which have thrown the American people into financial panics have moved in cycles. The underlying forces of the panic of 1819 slowly regained control over the mind of the public and plunged it to disaster again in 1837. Stimulated by a succession of good years, the American people once more became over sanguine. They built canals and railroads beyond the needs of the country. Their state governments borrowed heavily of British capital for internal improvements. They embarked in wild banking enterprises and speculated feverishly in cotton plantations, city real estate, and western lands. A vicious circle was soon in operation piling up unsound credit accounts in local banks. For these loans, the banks issued in large part their own paper currency. The borrowers presented the bank notes at the public land office in payment for their purchases. The land office deposited the bank notes as national

revenues in the local "pet bank" of Jackson's administration. With these additional funds at its disposal, the bank proceeded to make further loans of paper money. In this round of transactions nothing of intrinsic worth had changed hands except the land, and it was, too frequently, uncultivated or non-productive. Crop failures, furthermore, delayed returns from the investments in land and obliged the banks to carry the accounts of their creditors longer than they had planned. As a result, they were rapidly approaching the brink of disaster when Jackson's "Specie Circular" required that payments for public lands be made in gold or silver coin. Then, the tower of credit tumbled suddenly in ruins. To make matters worse for the government, it had begun, at the insistence of Clay and his followers, to distribute among the states the surplus which had been accumulating in the national treasury since the national debt had been extinguished in 1835.

The panic of 1837, however, was not entirely due to the faults of the American people. In fact, it was precipitated by failures in Great Britain. The excess of British exports to the United States during the Thirties had been balanced by the sale of American securities in Great Britain and the establishment of credits abroad. Large commercial houses in London with close American relations were affected by these failures and obliged to contract their credits. American business at once was sharply depressed.

Overaction

Banking

Canals

Railroad building

Compare Volume 21, Chapter IX

Volume 38, Pages 9-10

The vicious circle

The sale of lands

The "Specie Circular"

The distribution of the surplus

The effects of the crash

Political

Volume 24, Pages 102, 121

Texas

Social

Volume 40, Pages 34-35, 40, 50-51

Labor

112 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Panic of 1837—Continued

Economic	Volume 38, Pages 47, 68, 100
Business	Volume 37, Pages 99, 141
Financial	Volume 20, Page 199
The national treasury	

The Sub-Treasury System

Volume 20, Pages 199-200

Van Buren's remedy

The recognized failure of the pet banks

The Democratic refusal to restore the Bank of the United States

A national system of vaults in central cities

The protection of national revenues

The circulation of Treasury notes

The fight for the new system

Success in 1840

Repeal by the Whigs

Tyler and Clay

Restoration by the Democrats

Polk

Retention until modified during the Civil War

Chase's system of national depositories

Volume 29, Page 200

The Improvement of Communications

The railroad

The inventors

Volume 37, Pages 69-83

The Americans, Evans and Stevens

The Englishman, Stephenson

Peter Cooper and the *Tom Thumb*

The transition from canals to railroads

Volume 21, Pages 147-153

Volume 37, Page 80

Volume 38, Pages 1-13

Volume 35, Pages 110-113

The Baltimore and Ohio

Volume 38, Pages 95-102

The Pennsylvania

" " Pages 47-49

The New York Central

" " Pages 20-29

The Erie

" " Pages 64-71

BANK, FINANCE, AND RAILROADS 113

The Improvement of Communications—Continued

Early railroads in the South

The Charleston and Hamburg Volume 38, Page 10

Augusta, Georgia Volume 37, Page 80

The cotton belt roads Volume 27, Pages 36-37

The project of a road to the Pacific
Volume 27, Pages 131-132

The transcontinental line

The ever widening horizon of the West

The pathway of the Lakes Volume 21, Pages 170-173

Trail heads on the plains Pages 190-195

The startling effect of gold in California
Volume 38, Pages 120-123

Surveys, 1853

The Union Pacific Act, 1862

The Santa Fé route “ Page 154

The Telegraph Volume 37, Chapter VI

Morse's invention

The demonstration from Washington to Baltimore

Use by the Democratic convention, 1844

Extension around the world

Across the continent, 1862

The end of the Pony Express

Under the Atlantic

The first cable, 1868

The Panic of 1857 Volume 40, Pages 61-62

Collapse due to overdevelopment of railroads
Volume 38, Pages 13, 26, 101

An industrial crisis Volume 36, Pages 176-177

Injury to the western farmers

The escape of Cotton

CHAPTER XIII

APPROPRIATION OF THE CONTINENT

AMERICA was not to be held within the bounds of the inheritance from Great Britain or the purchase from France. It was to acquire more and more territory and constantly to advance its frontier westward. In the Twenties the Floridas finally fell from the weak grasp of Spain. In the Thirties Americans laid out their plantations on the Texan plains within the domain of Mexico. They revolted against the control of a people to whom they were foreign in blood and tradition and won their independence on the battlefield. During the Forties, long trains of canvas-covered prairie schooners jolted over the Oregon Trail to the valley of the Columbia. Oregon, hitherto a fur-trading country, the home of a handful of British and American trappers and traders, became an American settlement. In 1844, complete ownership was demanded by the people of the United

States. Two years later England consented to divide the region at the forty-ninth parallel. In the same year war broke out between the United States and Mexico, incensed over the American annexation of Texas. The treaty of peace which brought an end to the conflict added the vast region of Arizona, New Mexico, and California to the territory of the United States. Throughout these decades, Americans had talked much of their country's "manifest destiny" to possess the continent from sea to sea. By 1848 this ambition had become a reality. Immediately after the Civil War the Russian offer to sell Alaska was accepted.

The peace treaty with Mexico had hardly been signed when gold was discovered in California. The Mormons, who had journeyed over the first mountain barrier into the arid valleys of Utah to establish their own independent state, as they thought, far beyond the reach of the United States, now saw the tide of American migration rush past them to the gold fields. A large American settlement at once appeared in the great central valley of California. The earlier Spanish traditions and civilization were submerged. When gold mining became less profitable, farming took its place. The new community did not break up. The early

Americans in California were not daunted by the problems of a rapidly increasing population. They brought order out of lawlessness in a way that reveals fundamental qualities in the American character.

“Manifest Destiny” had carried the border of the United States to the Pacific. But the frontier did not sweep westward in an uninterrupted course across the continent following the acquisition of new lands. It pushed up the western slope of the Mississippi Valley approximately to the region of the High Plains; then it leaped the barrier of the Rockies and the Sierra Nevadas and appeared in the valleys of the Pacific coast. The settlement of the region of the mountains and the High Plains was delayed until after the war between the states. This was the last American frontier.

Early in our history the original English-speaking stock, always in the forefront of westward expansion, had been joined by newcomers from Europe, who were attracted by the cheap lands. Germans, Irish, and Swedes were the most numerous. The negro, held fast by slavery, was seldom found north of the cotton-producing areas of the West. As, year after year, the stream of settlement moved on, gaining steadily in volume, it

worked prodigious changes. Early pack trails gave way to roads and railroads. Mountain prospectors, picturesque seekers after the golden fleece, were supplanted by the capitalist and the mining corporation. The vast herds of bison that roamed the grasslands east of the Rockies melted away leaving the Indians of the plains deprived of the very foundation of their life. War flamed up from Dakota to Texas, the last desperate stand of a doomed race. Herds of cattle succeeded the bison. Then the cattleman had to abandon his ranges to the farmer enclosing his little homestead with barbed wire fences. With the advent of the plough, the frontier passed rapidly out of American life.

The settlers who broke the virgin soil and set themselves to the task of making homes on the western plains had naturally a zeal for education. To support it a fine missionary spirit in the older communities along the Atlantic seaboard sent money for the endowment of schools and colleges. They were almost without exception religious institutions, sometimes perhaps established to do little more than propagate particular sectarian convictions among the folk of the frontier, but more often imbued with a spirit of genuine service.

118 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

As the West grew in population and prosperity the idea that education was a public concern became practically universal. From it sprang to vigorous life those state universities that are typical of America west of the Appalachians.

The Acquisition of the Floridas Volume 15, Chapter V

West Florida

The revolt of the inhabitants

Pages 189-198

The annexation by the United States

East Florida

XIII

Spanish rule

Refuge for enemies of the United States

American ambitions

Jackson's punitive expedition

The Florida treaty with Spain

Definition of the southwestern boundary

The Story of Oregon

Volume 22, Chapters I-VII

Rival claims

Explorers, Lewis and Clark

Traders, Astoria

Diplomacy

The convention of 1818 with Great Britain

Volume 15, Pages 293-294

The treaty with Spain

Pages 282-283

The convention with Russia

Pages 303-304

The race for settlement

Volume 22, Chapter VIII

Marcus Whitman

The treaty with England of 1846

" " Pages 263-266

The Story of Texas

Volume 24, Chapters I, II

The Mexican revolution

American migration into Texas

The Mexican colonization law

The prohibition of slavery

The Texan war for independence

" " III

Edwards, Austin, Houston

APPROPRIATION OF THE CONTINENT 119

The Story of Texas—Continued

The Alamo	Volume 24, Chapter IV
San Jacinto	
The Republic of Texas	“ “ V-VII
Negotiations with the United States for annexation	

The Mexican War

Mexican suspicions of the United States	
Commodore Jones at Monterey	Volume 24, Page 115
The annexation of Texas	“ “ VIII-X
British interests	
The question of slavery	
The Slidell mission	“ “ X
American military operations	
Polk's message	
The invasion of Mexico	XI, XII, XIII
Taylor	
Scott	
The treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo	“ “ XIV

The Trek of the Mormons

Volume 25, Chapter VI

Beginnings in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois
The state of Deseret
Salt Lake City

The Rush for Gold

Volume 25, Chapters I-IV

Early American settlements in California

The Forty-niners

Across the plains	Volume 25, Chapter V
By way of Panama	“ “ VII
The diggings	“ “ VIII

The American Occupation of California

“ “ IX-XV

San Francisco

The Vigilantes

The Purchase of Alaska

Volume 46, Chapter III

The Russian offer

Seward's eagerness

The bargain

Immigration and Western Settlement

The original stock	Volume 35, Chapters I, II	
Americans and negroes	" "	III
The slave system		
The freedman		
Americans and seekers after Utopia	" "	IV
Americans and foreigners		
The Irish	" "	V
The Germans	" "	VI
Swedes and others		
The lure of the West	" "	VII
Cheap land		

The Passing of the Frontier

Volume 26, Chapters I-VI

Early trails		
Prospectors and miners		
Cowboys and cattle trails		
The Indian wars	" "	VII
Cattle kings	" "	VIII
The homesteader	" "	IX

The Westward Movement of Education

Volume 33, Chapter XI

The rivalry of sectarians		
Contests for college sites		
Eastern philanthropy		
Endowment by land grant		
The eccentricities of legislatures		
State Universities	" "	XII
French and German influences		
The model, Michigan University		

CHAPTER XIV

THE RISE OF SECTIONAL STRIFE

SIDE by side with expansion to the Pacific coast during the first half of the Nineteenth Century went the growth of sectional dissension within the nation. The trouble arose from contrasts between the North and South that were, in the last analysis, the outgrowth of a climatic difference. North of the Ohio were the varied conditions of the temperate zone. To the south of it, the climate became more and more subtropical. In the heart of the cotton and sugar country white men could not work efficiently at manual labor. To supply the necessary labor, negroes had been imported from Africa early in colonial times. It was found that in the South, whether the crop was tobacco, rice, or cotton, negroes could be used most efficiently when handled in gangs. This led to the growth of the plantation system. Its growth was further stimulated by the cheapness

of land in the new country and by the need for constant substitution of virgin soil in place of fields worn out by cropping. When the invention of the cotton-gin, in 1793, fixed cotton as the staple crop of the South, the plantation system with its slave labor was firmly established and practically universalized. The only areas into which it did not advance were the upland valleys of the Appalachians and the lowland regions where the soil was sandy and infertile.

The plantation brought about a definite and permanent social stratification. At the top was the planter and at the bottom the slave. Between the two were grades of lesser whites and free blacks. The southern civilization was aristocratic to the core. Its outstanding characteristics were differences in wealth, social position, and political power.

In sharp contrast was the democracy of the Northwest, built also upon agriculture. The small farmer of the northern half of the Ohio valley was the economic and political equal of his neighbor. In the communities where he lived, democracy was as inevitable as cultivating the land. Here slave labor was economically so inefficient that the prohibition of the Ordinance of 1787 was hardly needed. In the northern states, east of

the Alleghanies, commercial and industrial enterprises were rapidly developing. But, although they were causing an unequal distribution of wealth, they were not as yet seriously modifying the general ideal of democracy.

In the young United States, therefore, two civilizations had appeared: one agricultural, commercial and industrial, with its political institutions founded on democracy; the other almost solely agricultural, with its social and political life built on aristocracy. Both civilizations, in the beginning, supported the central government and favored national expansion.

Three factors made for discord. The first was the inevitable dislike of the people of each section for the different institutions and ideals of the other. This was particularly true in the North where the dislike of slavery grew to the proportions of a moral crusade. The second was a disparity in growth of population, a condition which threatened the equality of the South with the North in the councils of the nation. This led to the development of an interpretation of the Constitution to protect the rights of a minority, the theory of nullification. The third and probably the most important factor was the competition of the two

civilizations for the unsettled public domain. Northerners, naturally, wished to exclude the obnoxious institution of slavery from the new country. Southerners, quite as naturally, wished to increase the area of their section as much as possible. They were anxious to expand into the territories of Texas and California. The sectional struggle became most acute on the climatic borderline where the states of Missouri and Kansas were established. This struggle for the national domain ultimately brought on war.

It is perhaps easier to understand why the South wished to abandon the Union than why the North desired to compel it to stay. The Southerner who squarely faced the facts saw clearly that his civilization was menaced; that the North wished to and was able to put slavery on the way to ultimate extinction. He believed that the result in his own section would be a social revolution, the consequences of which no man could foresee. His home, his wife and daughters, the whole structure of his society would be confronted by a black menace if the slaves should gain their freedom and feel the power that lay in their numbers. If this was the price that he must pay for loyalty to the Union, he would fight, if need be, for Southern

freedom. Why, he asked, if the Northerner so deeply disliked Southern institutions, should the North not be willing to let the South go in peace? Why undertake a fratricidal war to compel an unwilling section to remain within a Union that threatened to tear in shreds its whole social fabric?

The answer is not easy. In the North, as the country had expanded, the spirit of nationalism had grown. Webster had preached it in his great orations; Clay had woven it into the compromises with which he was associated; economic interchange had knit the nation into a closer and closer union. If the South left the Union the nation would be deeply, irreparably wounded. Was such to be the ending to the dreams of the men who had labored to make America free and to establish its independence? Northerners, already angered at the South for wrongs that they believed the "slaveocracy" had committed, could not stand calmly by and permit this colossal injury to their nation. National patriotism was, therefore, enlisted against the Southerner. Many men in the North joined the Union armies to free the black man. The battle was joined with idealism burning bright on both sides. The time of America's greatest testing was at hand.

126 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Early Slave Question

The negro

Volume 9, Pages 194-203

Volume 35, Chapter III

" " Pages 45-52

Ordeals of the slave trade

Colonial slave codes

The decline of slavery

The spirit of freedom

The Revolution

Volume 28, Chapter I

The Ordinance of 1787

Volume 13, Pages 76-79

Constitutional conservatism

The slave trade

Pages 129-130

Geographical rifts

Volume 28, Chapter II

The abolition of slavery in the North

The spread of cotton raising in the South

Compare Volume 35, Pages 52-56

The place of the negro Compare Volume 37, Pages 50-51

Evasions of the law against the African slave trade

The competition for new states

The Missouri Compromise

Volume 15, Pages 309-310

The application for admission, 1819

Debates in Congress

Volume 28, Pages 16-18

The application of Maine

Volume 16, Page 127

The balance maintained

The Crusade against Slavery

Volume 28, Chapter III

The pioneers

The Quaker Lundy

His opinion of removal to Africa

Zeal for emancipation

His newspaper

The Puritan Garrison

Vehemence for immediate emancipation

The Liberator

The slaveholder Birney

Gradual emancipation

His appeal to fellow Southerners

Labors for the colonization society

The displeasure of his neighbors

A leader of the political abolitionists

The Crusade against Slavery—Continued

Friction with Garrison

Feminine agitators

The sisters Grimke

Carolínians

The evangelist spirit

The Quaker garb

Parallel campaigns for the emancipation of woman,
temperance, and the abolition of war

Oberlin College

Higher education for negroes

The Abolition Spirit in the West

The turning-point

Volume 28, Chapter IV

Garrison's *Address to the Public*, 1831

Nat Turner's insurrection

Southern fear and fury

Grave debates in the legislature of Virginia

The effect of British emancipation, 1833

Heightened Southern consciousness

Array for battle

Volume 28, Chapter V

Abolitionists: liberators or incendiaries

The resistance of conservatives, Northern and
Southern

Restrictions on the black man's privileges

The attack upon Garrison in Boston, 1835

The persecution of Miss Crandall in Connecticut

The death of Lovejoy in Illinois, 1837

Southern petitions to Northern legislatures

The pressure upon religion

The split of the churches

Volume 28, Page 84

Anti-slavery literature in the mails

Bonfires in the South

The attitude of Jackson's administration

Amos Kendall

Jackson's attack on the abolitionists

The victory of Anti-slavery

The Fight over the "Gag Rule"

Volume 28, Pages 78-84

Abolitionist petitions in Congress

128 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Fight over the "Gag Rule"—Continued

- Southern insistence upon the "gag rule"
- The ire of J. Q. Adams
 - Champion of the right of petition
 - His excoriation of Southern Congressmen
- Giddings and freedom of debate
- The Creole affair, 1841

The Cotton Kingdom

Volume 27, Chapter I

- The lower South
 - Its climate and soil
 - The spread of cotton
 - The removal of the Indians
 - The planter upon the heels of the pioneer
 - The increase of slave holding
- Social groups
 - French culture centered in New Orleans
 - The Catholic Church
 - The society of Charleston
 - The vanishing English gentry
 - French Huguenots
 - The poor folk of the hills
 - Their religion
 - Their rise to the planter class
- The development of an aristocracy of planters

Volume 27, Chapter II

- The rising price of cotton
 - The increasing value of slaves
- Dependence upon the North for manufactures
 - Obligations to Northern bankers
 - Northern profits in slavery
- Subordinate lower classes
 - Small farmers
 - Tenants
 - "Piney woods" squatters
 - "Crackers"
 - Contempt for the negro
- The independent Southern class
 - The mountaineers

The Cotton Kingdom—Continued

Their isolation from the Cotton Kingdom

The cotton belt

Its railroad connections with the seaboard

Ties with the tobacco areas

The slave traders

Trade between the Old South and the New

Growing sectional consciousness

Trade with the Northwest

Investments of Eastern capital

The exhaustion of the soil

The demand for new lands to the South and West

A future in manufacturing

Water power

Cheap negro labor

"Manifest Destiny"

Cuba, Mexico, and Central America

Planter philosophy

Volume 27, Chapter III

The place of the poor white

The decline of Jeffersonian dogma

The work of Dew

The finishing touch by Harper

Calhoun's announcement

Slavery, a positive good

The chivalry of the South

The mirror of Scott's novels

Justification in Carlyle

Support by Christianity

Protestors

Goodlow

Helper

Weston

Southern Society

Volume 27, Chapter IV

The plantation

The house

The negro quarters

Dress and social customs

Saratoga and Washington

The Battery at Charleston

130 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Cotton Kingdom—Continued

Southern libraries

Newspapers and reviews

Congressional records

Scott, Byron, and Thackeray

The dislike of Dickens

Dr. Johnson and Goldsmith

Shakespeare

The theater

Greek and Latin

“Log colleges”

Southern poets and authors

Followers of the English tradition

Simms, Kennedy, Timrod, Hayne

Portraitists of the South

Longstreet, Thompson, Hooper, Baldwin

The Southern Literary Messenger

The life of the poor whites

Log house, negro cabin, and barn

Dwellers on the pine barrens

Poverty and illiteracy

Religion and education

Volume 27, Chapter V

The deism of Cooper and Jefferson

The path of orthodoxy

Fashionable Episcopalians

Missionary Presbyterians

The faith of Calvin

War upon the deists

Ardent Methodists and Baptists

The transformation of the South

Acceptance of slavery by the evangelistic sects

Division of the Methodist and Baptist churches

North and South

Strife in the Presbyterian national organization

The growth of education

Increased attendance in the colleges

Famous teachers

Scientific research

Improvement of common schools

THE RISE OF SECTIONAL STRIFE 131

The Cotton Kingdom—Continued
The blight of illiteracy
Instruction for negroes

The Flower of American Literature

The New England school of philosophers

Volume 34, Chapter VI

The new liberalism

W. E. Channing

Emerson

Thoreau

Hatred of slavery

Romancers and poets

“ “

VII

Hawthorne

Longfellow

Whittier

Abolitionist

Wits and satirists

Holmes

Lowell

The Biglow papers

Historians

Sparks and Bancroft

Prescott, Motley, and Parkman

Poe and Whitman

“ “

VIII

The Question of Slavery in New Territories

Volume 28, Chapter VI

Volume 27, Chapter VI

Texas

Volume 24, Pages 90-109

The growth of Anti-slavery

J. Q. Adams in Congress

The recognition of the Texan Republic

The effect of the murder of the Abolitionist

Lovejoy

The birth of the Liberty Party

The election of 1840

The fight over the annexation of Texas

Volume 24, Chapters VIII, IX

132 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Question of Slavery in New Territories—Continued

The election of 1844

The southern abandonment of Van Buren

The failure of Clay for the Whigs

Election of the western Democrat, Polk

Spoils of the Mexican War

Volume 24, Chapter X

The dreams of an expansionist President

Justification for war on Mexico

American claims

The opposition

Conscience Whigs

Barnburner Democrats

Van Buren

The Wilmot Proviso

Volume 28, Page 91

Volume 27, Page 125

California and New Mexico

Free soil or slave?

The election of 1848

Cass for Democrats

Van Buren for Free Soilers

Taylor for Whigs

The success of the Whigs

The Compromise of 1850

Volume 28, Chapter VII

The refractoriness of Taylor

Resistance to encroachment from any quarter

Incipient Southern defiance

The Nashville Convention

Volume 27, Pages 126-127

Clay's proposals for compromise

The death of Taylor

The acceptance of the Compromise

The death-knell of the Whig party

Irreconcilable Elements of Discord

Northern opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law

The election of 1852

Volume 27, Pages 127-128

Volume 28, Page 144

The issue: Finality of the Compromise

Democratic acceptance

Irreconcilable Elements of Discord—Continued

Free Soil opposition

Whig neutrality

The Democratic victory

The death of the Whig party

Increasing assistance for escaping slaves

Volume 28, Chapter VIII

Rescues

Shadrach and Jerry

The Burns affair

Compare Volume 29, Page 27

The roads to Canada

Mountain refugees

The spur of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Volume 28, Chapter IX

The experience of Mrs. Stowe Volume 34, Pages 220-223

The effect upon the youth of America

The influence in Europe

Southern determination to dominate or secede

Control of the national government Volume 27, Pages 128-137

President Pierce

Southern expansion

The Gadsden Purchase

The Ostend Manifesto

The dual nation

Volume 29, Chapter I

The statesmanship of Douglas

A scheme for escape from the dilemma

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill

Volume 29, Pages 15-18

Volume 28, Chapter X

The mixed motives of Douglas Volume 27, Page 132

Volume 29, Chapter II

Promotion of a northern railroad to the Pacific

Surrender to the "Slave Power"

Adherence to the tradition of Jacksonian

Democracy

Popular Sovereignty

The supersession of the Missouri Compromise

(1820) by the Compromise of 1850

The struggle for Kansas

Volume 28, Chapter X

Northern indignation with Douglas

The Emigrant Aid Company

134 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Irreconcilable Elements of Discord—Continued

Border ruffians from Missouri

A bowie-knife and pistol election

Support by President Pierce

The removal of Governor Reeder

The appointment of Shannon

The free-state convention

The Topeka Constitution

The election of Governor Robinson

The rival governments

The Wakarusa War

Buford's troop from Alabama

"Beecher's Bibles" from Connecticut

Civil War in Kansas

The sack of Lawrence

John Brown's message from God

The efforts of Governor Geary to re-establish order

His resignation in disgust

The failure of Pierce to give support

The Rise of the Republican Party

Volume 29, Chapter II

Anti-Nebraska men

Volume 43, Pages 13-14

The transitory Know-Nothing Party

Hostility to the foreigner

A temporary refuge for old Whigs

The Free Soil remnant

The effect of the struggle for Kansas

Stimulation of sectional patriotism in the North

The fusion of anti-slavery elements

The birth of the Republican party

Seward's adherence to the new cause

The election of Banks as Speaker of the House, 1856

The election of 1856

Volume 28, Pages 162-163

Volume 27, Pages 138-139

Candidates

Fremont for Republicans

Buchanan for Democrats

Fillmore for Know-Nothings

The issue: Admission of Kansas under the Topeka

The Rise of the Republican Party—Continued
Constitution
The victory of conservatism
The election of Buchanan

The Growth of the Desire for Separation Volume 29, Chapter III
Volume 27, Pages 139-143

The ebbing strength of Southern Unionists
Old Whig leaders
The rise of the "Fire-Eaters" to power
Yancey and Rhett
Southern commercial conventions
The "Slave Interest"
Allies in New York
The demand for reopening the slave trade
Secession, the alternative

Sumner, contemptuous and contemptible

Volume 28, Chapter XI

His Free-Soil record
Blistering arraignments of Southern morals
"The Crime against Kansas," 1856
The attack by Butler
"The Barbarism of Slavery," 1859
The failure of Buchanan to heal the sore of Kansas

Volume 28, Chapter XII

Governor Walker, Southern Democrat
Political descendant of Andrew Jackson
His promise to the people of Kansas
Election frauds
Pro-slave control of the constitutional convention
The Lecompton Constitution
The evasion of the free-state legislature
Manipulation of the slavery clauses
Walker's protest to Buchanan
The rejection of the Lecompton Constitution by the
people of Kansas
Buchanan's determination to support it in Congress
The national judiciary discredited Volume 28, Chapter XIII
The southern character of the Supreme Court

The Growth of the Desire for Separation—Continued

Volume 29, Pages 50-51

Northern opinion

Perversion of the Court by political interests

The sincerity of Douglas vindicated

His defense of popular sovereignty

War upon Buchanan

Volume 29, Page 49

Volume 28, Pages 187-188

Volume 27, Pages 140-141

The defeat of the Lecompton Constitution

Volume 29, Pages 50-58

The appeal to the people of the Northwest

Volume 28, Pages 199-202

Volume 27, Page 142

The Lincoln-Douglas debates

The Dred Scott decision, a stumbling block

The Freeport Doctrine

Slavery dependent upon local legislation

An impossibility

John Brown, revolutionist

Volume 28, Chapter XIV

His religious environment

His sympathy with the black man

Gileadites

Bleeding Kansas

The sword of righteousness

The attack on Harper's Ferry

The effect upon the South

The execution of Brown

The Crisis of 1860

Volume 29, Chapter IV

Volume 27, Pages 143-146

Forewarning

The observations of Helper, a Southerner, 1857

Volume 28, Pages 137-143

The appeal to the middle class of the South

The blight of slavery

The Crisis of 1860—Continued

The rage of the planters

The use of Helper's book by the Republican party

Demands of the Southern extremists

The reopening of the slave trade

The Vicksburg resolution, 1859

The widening of the split between the Southern factions

The popularity of American adventurers in Central America

Southern frenzy over John Brown's raid

The vision of a slave rebellion

Deafness to Lincoln's censure of Brown

"Grim desire for self preservation"

Violence in Congress

The resolutions of Jefferson Davis

Congress must protect slavery against territorial legislatures

The battle of candidates

The contest for the nomination of the Democratic party

The convention at Charleston

The opposition of the South to Douglas

The dispute over his platform

The withdrawal of Yancey

Rival nominations

Douglas

Breckenridge

The Constitutional Union Party

The fusion of old Whigs and Know-Nothings

Candidates

President — J. Bell of Tennessee

Vice-President — E. Everett of Massachusetts

The love of Union and the old order

The Republican convention at Chicago

A sectional enthusiasm

Seward, the man of the hour

The selection of Lincoln

The man of destiny

138 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Crisis of 1860—Continued

A sectional party

A *Unionist* leader

The campaign

The platform of the Republican party

Free labor in the territories

An appeal to old Southern Whigs

Protective tariffs

An appeal to manufacturing interests

Rights of democracy

An appeal to western prejudices

The threat of the South

Secession upon the election of Lincoln

Lincoln, choice of a minority

The division of the South

Secession

Volume 29, Chapter V

Volume 30, Chapter I

South Carolina's proud recollection of Nullification

The first to secede — December 20th

Painful decisions of the leaders

Buchanan "pale with fear"

Southern demands for Federal property in the South

Anderson's garrison at Fort Sumter

The courage of Jeremiah S. Black

Robert E. Lee

Compare Volume 31, Pages 9-11

The peace party

Nonresisters

Wendell Phillips and Horace Greeley

Compromisers

Weed and Crittenden

The line of the Missouri Compromise

Northern capitalists

Creditors of the South

August Belmont

Increasing tension

The failure of the Crittenden Compromise

Stipulations of the South

Lincoln's refusal — December 20th

Secession—Continued

The *Star of the West*

The failure of relief for Fort Sumter

The Southern point of view

The secession of the Gulf States

Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana

The resignation of Jefferson Davis from the Senate
of the United States

The devotion of Samuel Houston to the Union

His defeat in Texas

The organization of the Confederacy

Jefferson Davis, President

The Republican control of the Congress of the United
States

The Morrill Tariff

The admission of Kansas

A free state

The failure of the Peace Convention at Washington

Ex-President Tyler presiding

Lincoln's journey to Washington

Disappointment with his speeches

"Simple Susan"

His inaugural address

No interference with slavery in the states

Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law

Maintenance of the Union

A step nearer war

Support by Douglas

The Literature of Union and Liberty

Volume 34, Chapter IX

The orators

Clay and Webster

Statesmen

Everett and Choate

Stylists

Wendell Phillips

Zealot

The Journalists

Garrison, vituperator'

140 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Literature of Union and Liberty—Continued

Greeley, spokesman for the plain people

Uncle Tom's Cabin

Harriet Beecher Stowe

Abraham Lincoln

CHAPTER XV

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

ALL efforts to reconcile the sections were in vain. Southern radicals went defiantly from secession to the organization of a Confederacy. Lincoln refused to accept a compromise which altered the original terms of Union. North and South waited tensely for the overt act that would precipitate war. Southern batteries fired upon Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston; there was then no turning back. After the first encounter, each side paused for a time and with feverish haste undertook the organization of its strength. The North was superior in man-power and in economic resources. The South excelled in the initial unity of sentiment among its people and in the caliber of its military leaders. Moreover, its task was easier than that of its opponent. To win, the South had only to hold off the Federal armies until the North grew tired of fighting, or a foreign na-

tion interfered. To that end, Southern agents labored persistently at Paris and London. The North could only secure victory by destroying completely the military power of the South, a task of extreme difficulty.

To the North from the beginning went the offensive. Its strategy was directed toward three objectives: first, to blockade the Southern coast and thus prevent the export of cotton and the import of war materials; second, to open navigation on the Mississippi and thereby isolate the western half of the Confederacy; and third, to capture Richmond, the Southern capital. By 1863, the blockade was working with such efficiency that the South was slowly being strangled. Control of the Mississippi, from source to mouth, was finally secured with the surrender of Vicksburg on July 3, 1863. By November of the same year, practically all of the region west of the Appalachian mountains was cut off from the Confederacy by the Federal victory at Chattanooga. In 1864, while Grant struggled with Lee in the wilderness of Virginia, Sherman drove across the southern end of the Atlantic slope and destroyed the military power of the Lower South. It was in Virginia that Confederate armies made their

magnificent stand. For four years, they held off the heaviest Northern attacks and even made two counter-attacks. These proved to be without lasting results, for they failed either to force the North to give up the war or to secure foreign intervention. Nevertheless, it was not until practically all of the Confederacy outside of Virginia had fallen into the hands of the enemy that the confederate government fled from Richmond and Lee's army collapsed. There was no peace treaty. Southern political and military organization, central and local, had been destroyed. The military government of Northern armies took its place.

Strange indeed was the contrast between the two presidents who directed the warring sections. Davis was of the aristocracy, with military training and a long political experience. He was called to the leadership of a united people, fired with the conviction that their cause was just. But during the term of office he was forced to watch the Confederacy slowly disintegrate and was driven to the bitter realization that his people had lost confidence in him. Lee, not Davis, became the symbol of Southern idealism. Lincoln came from humble folk. His education was scanty and his political experience limited. At a time of crisis he

was called to the leadership of a people still groping for a way out of besetting difficulties. He handled skilfully a group of able subordinates, often hostile to himself, and he guided the North far along the road to unity. In his policies a stern purpose was tempered by humanity. When his death came, his section almost universally hailed Lincoln as the saviour of the nation.

The Civil War was a great selective force. The very fact of the war was, in itself, evidence that two civilizations, such as were typified in the North and the South, could not exist side by side in the nation. The war selected out one of these, the southern, and destroyed it. After the conflict ended, vindictive elements in the North gained the ascendancy at the national capital and forced a pitiless course of reconstruction upon the former Confederates. By rapid stages, the "Vindictives" raised the bewildered negro to the dignity of the franchise and gave into his hands control of state and local government in the South. To make the humiliation of Southerners more painful, these "Black Republican" governments were supported by white men of questionable character and motive who gathered from both North and South. It was this ordeal that created the "Solid South."

The war did not solve the negro problem; it only modified conditions. That question still remains.

Throughout the struggle between the American states, Europe had looked on with strangely mixed emotions. British manufacturers were dependent upon Southern cotton. The British nobility was sympathetic with the aristocratic cotton-planter and indifferent to the lot of the negro slave. But the middle classes and notably the laborers in the English cotton-mills were devoted to the North because of anti-slavery feeling. It needed only Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and the prospect of Federal victory to turn British opinion to the Northern side. Southern agents saw vanish the hope that Great Britain would recognize Southern independence. Southern bonds lost all attractiveness for British capital. After the war Great Britain accepted the decision of the Geneva Tribunal. Damages were awarded to the United States for depredations by the Confederate commerce-raiders which had been fitted out in British ports.

France under Napoleon III gave secret aid to Southern agents, talked openly of interference if Great Britain would co-operate, and dreamed of another French empire in America. French troops

appeared in North America and set Maximilian of Austria upon a Mexican throne. But the enthusiasm of Napoleon III was rapidly destroyed by the coolness of Great Britain. The troops in Mexico retired before the menaces of the triumphant North, leaving Maximilian to his fate.

<i>The Burst of War</i>	Volume 29, Chapter VI
The impossible situation at Fort Sumter	
The question of relief for Anderson	
Demands of the South	
The first shot	Volume 30, Pages 14-23
The fall of Sumter	Volume 31, Pages 1-16
Lumbering machines of war	“ “ Pages 16-55
Washington in peril	
Citizen armies at Bull Run	
The flight to Washington	
Competition for the border states	Volume 29, Pages 145-147
Blair and Lyon in Missouri	
Anderson in Kentucky	
McClellan in West Virginia	
The antagonists	Volume 31, Chapter II
The advantages of the South	
The potential superiority of the North	
The advantage of sea power	
Conscription	
<i>Military and Naval Operations</i>	
The naval war of 1862	Volume 31, Chapter III
The blockade	
The <i>Monitor</i> and the <i>Merrimac</i>	
Farragut at New Orleans	
A futile expedition up the Mississippi	
The river war of 1862	Volume 31, Chapter IV
Operations down the Mississippi	
Halleck versus A. S. Johnston	
Grant, commander in the field	

Military and Naval Operations—Continued

Forts Henry and Donelson

Keys to the Cumberland and Tennessee river
valleys

Grant's victory

Pope's capture of Island No. Ten

Johnston's drive against Grant at Shiloh

Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River

The errors of Grant

The Confederate failure

A northern caterpillar

Halleck's approach upon Corinth

The advance of the northern river fleet down the
Mississippi

The capture of Memphis

Confederate counter advances

A triple offensive Compare Volume 30, Page 44

Bragg into Kentucky

Price and Van Dorn against Grant at Memphis
and Corinth

Lee into Maryland

Grant's attempts to reach down the Mississippi to
Vicksburg

The futile "War in the West"

The campaign in New Mexico

Battles and maneuvers in Virginia, 1862-1863

Volume 31, Chapter VI

McClellan's peninsular campaign

The McDowell corps

The genius of Stonewall Jackson

A brilliant campaign in the Shenandoah Valley

The effect upon McClellan

Southern strategy against McClellan

The confederate attack at Fair Oaks

Stuart's ride around McClellan

The arrival of Jackson from the Shenandoah

The Seven Days' Battles, June 26, 1862

Richmond made secure

Pope's army of Virginia

148 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Military and Naval Operations—Continued

The strategy of Lee and Jackson

Second Bull Run, August 29, 1862

Lee's first invasion: part of a triple offensive

Maryland unresponsive

The return of McClellan to command

Antietam, September 17, 1862

Its diplomatic value to the North

Volume 31, Page 178

Stuart's second ride around McClellan

Burnside's attempt to cope with Lee and Jackson

The battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862

The North appalled

Another northern commander

"Fighting Joe Hooker"

The handicaps of Lee

The confederate plan of battle

Chancellorsville, May 1-3, 1863

The death of Jackson

Lee's second invasion

Volume 31, Chapter VIII

Pennsylvania, Northern storehouse

Hooker replaced by Meade

The battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863

Pickett's charge

Lee's retreat

The triumph of Grant, 1863

Volume 31, Chapter VII

The fall of Vicksburg

The co-operation of Porter's fleet

Grant's campaign below Vicksburg

His march on Jackson

The investment of Vicksburg

Re-established lines to the North

The siege

Pemberton's surrender

The Confederates in Tennessee

Morgan's raid across the Ohio

The retirement of Bragg

The Federal occupation of Chattanooga

Military and Naval Operations—Continued

The Confederate turn at Chickamauga, September 19, 1863

The failure of Rosecrans

The stand of Thomas

The investment of Chattanooga

Grant on the defense

The change to attack, November 24, 1863

Missionary Ridge

Lookout Mountain

Hooker's fame

The naval war, 1863-1864

Volume 31, Chapter IX

Blockade runners

The tightening grip of the North

The career of the *Alabama*

Southern raider

Defeat by the U. S. S. *Kearsarge*, June 19, 1864, off

Cherbourg, France

Farragut in Mobile Bay, August 5, 1864

The Confederate ram, *Albatross*

Roanoke River, the outlet of North Carolina

The exploit of Lieutenant W. B. Cushing, U. S. N.,

October 27, 1864

The fall of Fort Fisher, January 15, 1865

The defenses of Wilmington, North Carolina

The best southern port

The grand attack on the Confederacy, 1864

Volume 31, Chapter X

Grant's plan: Converging thrusts

His drive against Lee

Richmond, the objective

Sherman against Johnston

Atlanta, the objective

Farragut and Banks

Mobile, the objective

The meddling of Stanton

The fiasco of the Red River expedition

The race for Richmond

Grant in the Wilderness

150 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Military and Naval Operations—Continued

- Sheridan's raid behind Lee
- The horror of Cold Harbor
- The change of plans
- The siege of Richmond
- Early's dash on Washington
- Sheridan in the Shenandoah
- Sherman's approach to Atlanta Volume 31, Chapter XI
- The Fabian retreat of Johnston
- The interference of Davis
- Sherman's victory over Hood
- The fall of Atlanta
- Sherman's march through Georgia to the sea
- Destruction of the Confederate storehouse
- Hood's sortie into Tennessee
- His defeat before Nashville by Thomas
- The end of military resistance, 1865 Volume 31, Chapter XII
- The death grip
- Grant encircling Richmond
- Sherman marching north through the Carolinas
- Lee's flight
- The surrender at Appomattox, April 9, 1865

Europe and the War

Volume 29, Chapter VII

- Rivalry for the support of Great Britain

Volume 30, Chapter III

- Munitions
- The sale of Federal and Confederate bonds
- The sting of the Northern blockade
- British pride
- The Trent affair
- The market for Southern cotton
- The sufferings of British textile workers
- The temptations of "recognition"
- British uncertainties
- The issue of slavery
- The effect of the Emancipation Proclamation
- The ambition of France Volume 30, Chapter VIII
- Confederate spell-binders

Europe and the War—Continued

Napoleonic promises

Their collapse

The Greatest Figure

Volume 29, Chapters VII, VIII

Lincoln's statecraft

The Union foremost

Volume 31, Chapter V

The border states

A coalition cabinet

War Democrats

Emancipation

An instrument of war

A diplomatic weapon

The use of power

Conscription

The suspension of *Habeas Corpus*

Manager of men

His subordinates: Seward, Chase, and Stanton

His generals

Fremont and McClellan

His letter to Hooker

Volume 31, Page 289

Grant

Advisers

Busybody Congressmen

Horace Greeley

The peace party

Copperheads

Vallandigham

The humanitarian

Deserters

Sorrowing mothers

The defeated South

The Home Front in the North

Finance

Volume 29, Chapter X

Chase, Secretary of the Treasury

Quarrels with Seward

His political aspirations

Candidacy in 1864

The Pomeroy circular

The Home Front in the North—Continued

- The question of taxes or loans
- The suspension of specie payments
 - Issues of treasury notes
 - “Greenbacks”
 - Irredeemable paper
 - Chase compromised
- The service of Jay Cooke
 - Sales of bonds
 - The turning point in war finance
- The National Bank Act of 1863
- The effects of the war on domestic life
 - The loss of the nation’s best
 - The opportunity for the profiteer
 - Speculators in blood
- A remarkable increase in Northern business
 - The shift of labor
 - Westward migration
 - The Homestead Act, 1862
 - Little pauperism
 - Immigration
 - The labor of women
 - Labor-saving machines on the farms
- The freedom of the “disloyals”
 - Army supplies
 - The protest of the Boston Board of Trade
 - The woolen manufactures
 - Vaulting dividends
 - “Shoddy millionaires”
- The defeatist movement
- The culmination in 1864
 - The Cleveland Convention
 - Fremont
 - Wendell Phillips, Abolitionist
 - The Knights of the Golden Circle
 - Underground politicians
 - Malcontents
 - Draft-dodgers
 - Confederate agents

Volume 29, Chapter XIII

The Home Front in the North—Continued

The Sons of Liberty

Lesser secret societies

The sinister figure of Vallandigham

Volume 29, Pages 162-167

Morgan's raid

The Chicago plot, June, 1864

The assembly of the Democratic national convention

The failure of the plot

The cowardice of the Sons of Liberty

The Democratic nomination

McClellan

The presence of Seymour and Belmont of New York

Vallandigham's resolutions

McClellan's rejection of the platform

The renomination of Lincoln

Johnson, War Democrat, for Vice-President

Factional quarrels

Lincoln's dispute with Congress over reconstruction

The Wade-Davis Manifesto

The Vindictives

Horace Greeley

His negotiations with Confederates in Canada

Failure

His adherence to the vindictive group

Blair and Chase

Lincoln's adroit management of their resignations

News from Mobile and Atlanta

The victories of Farragut and Sherman

The re-election of Lincoln

The determination of the people

The Home Front in the South

Davis, a misfit

Volume 30, Chapter II

Immediate antagonisms

Rhett and Yancey

154 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Home Front in the South—Continued

- Ignored secessionists
- The necessity for Southern nationality
- The impossibility of States Rights
- The contrast of South Carolina and Mississippi
- The clash of state and Confederate authority
- Central control of the army
- Conscription
- The suspension of *Habeas Corpus*
- Martial law in the cities
- The reaction against Davis Volume 30, Chapter IV
- The wave of alarm
- The surrender of Fort Donelson
- Secret sessions of the government
- Yancey's protest
- The hostility of Rhett's *Charleston Mercury* and Pollard's *Richmond Examiner*
- The factious governor of Georgia
- The sinister figure of Benjamin Attorney General
- Secretary of War
- Secretary of State
- Davis' mismanagement of his generals
- Bragg, Johnston, Lee
- The tangle of prices and supplies
- Regulation
- Taxes in kind
- The outcry against the suspension of *Habeas Corpus*
- The disintegration of the Confederacy
- The crisis of 1863 Volume 30, Chapter V
- Angry attacks on Davis
- The conduct of the war
- The impressment of supplies
- The bitterness of middle-class farmers
- North Carolina
- Davis' obsession with his military prowess
- The torture of war Volume 30, Chapter VI
- The effect upon the cherished institution of slavery
- The hardships of the people

The Home Front in the South—Continued

Planter and poor man alike

The ordeals of women

The blockade

Scarcity of medicines and clothing

The collapse of the railroad system

The curse of war

Speculators in food

The turn of fortune

Volume 30, Chapter VII

The loss of the Mississippi River

The failure of Lee in Pennsylvania

The defeat at Chattanooga

The last stand

The defense of the Old South

The heart of the Confederacy

The remonstrance of outlying sections

The head of treason raised

“Heroes of America”

Negotiations in Canada

The cowardice of the northern defeatists

Failure in Europe

Volume 30, Chapter VIII

Desperate remedies

“ “

IX

Brown’s efforts to save Georgia

Sneers for Davis

The “people’s war” against Sherman

The despair of South Carolina

Helplessness in the hands of Sherman

Schemes for new associations of the states

The abandonment of Virginia

Lee for military dictator

A myth

Lee made commander-in-chief

The frantic efforts of the Confederate Treasury

The rage against Davis

The congressional attack

The elevation of Lee

The peace movement

Volume 30, Chapter X

Bands of Unionists

The peasant farmers of North Carolina

156 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Home Front in the South—Continued

The role of Stephens	
An ante-bellum Whig	
The conference with Lincoln at Hampton Roads	
The last stake of the South	Volume 30, Chapter XI
The arming of slaves	
Emancipation as a reward	
The refusal of the planters	
Lee's support	
Rejection by Virginia	
The failure of the plan	
The flight of Davis	“ “ XII
Blind resolution	

Reconstruction

The affliction of the South	Volume 32, Chapter I
Society disorganized	
Displaced Confederates and Unionists	
The land devastated	
A shortage of materials and men	
Slave property wiped out	
Lines of communication broken down	
Confiscations by the Federal government	
Distressing frauds	
The attitude of the North	
Measures of relief	
The annoyance of Federal garrisons	
Negro troops	
The appearance of the carpetbagger	
Conflicting reports to the northern public	
The creation of misunderstandings	
The contrast of Grant and Schurz	
The statements of southern leaders, Hampton and Lee	
The bewilderment of the negro	Volume 32, Chapter II
His ideas of freedom	
Morals and manners	
Negro suffrage	

158 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Reconstruction—Continued

- Johnson's advice to the states to reject Congressional elections, 1866
- Johnson's "Swing around the Circle"
- The Fourteenth Amendment rejected by the South
- The defeat of Johnson's candidates
- Actions of Congress in 1867
- Insults to Johnson
 - The Tenure of Office Act
 - The army appropriation rider
 - The Reconstruction Acts of March
- Stanton and Johnson Volume 32, Chapter VII
- The impeachment of the President
 - Political jobbery
- Military rule in the South Volume 32, Chapter VI
- The major-generals
 - Authority from Congress
 - Their conservatism
- The opportunity for Republican growth in the South
 - Registration of the negro
 - Protection for his vote
- The state conventions
 - Carpetbaggers, scalawags, and negroes
 - Constitution-makers
 - Readmission to the Union by Congress
 - Recognition of the radical governments
- The retirement of the generals
- Informal war
 - Northern forces of perversion Volume 32, Chapter VIII
 - The Union League
 - Control of the negro
 - The delusion of secret ritual
 - Military discipline
 - The elimination of black Democrats
- Radical state governments Volume 32, Chapter X
- Disfranchisement of the Confederates
- The power of the carpetbagger
 - The organizer of negro rule
- Burlesque government

Reconstruction—Continued

Southern resistance	Volume 32, Chapter XI	
The Ku Klux Klan		
The organization of the white population		
The intimidation of the negro		
His disappearance from the polls		
Disheartening effects of reconstruction		
The gulf between the churches of the North and South	Volume 32, Chapter IX	
The formation of negro churches		
The blight upon education		
Radical control of the universities		
The effect of mixed schools		
The changing South	“ “	XII
Industrial hardships		
The desperation of the planter		
Vanishing labor		
The shiftless freedman		
The pernicious credit system		
The “Solid South”		
Iron in the soul of the white man		
The failure of reconstruction	“ “	XIII
The success of Southern resistance		
The development of tolerance in the North		
The diversion of corruption in Northern governments		
The rise of new sectional controversies		
The effect of foreign issues		
The reaction against negro suffrage in Northern states		
The Liberal Republican movement		
Grant’s change of policy		
The Amnesty Act, 1872		
The crisis of 1876: “the bloody shirt”		
The tacit understanding with President Hayes		
New ways in the South		
The abandonment of the Ku Klux method		
The control of ballot boxes		
Literacy tests		
Residence requirements		
The elimination of the negro vote		

160 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The French Menace in Mexico Volume 29, Chapter XII

The dreams of Napoleon III

The United States torn by civil war

The Monroe Doctrine dormant

The occupation of Mexico

Intrigues with the Confederate States

Volume 30, Chapter VIII

“ “ Pages 178-179

The policy forced upon Lincoln and Seward

Adroit hints to Napoleon

Congressional vehemence

Presidential evasion

The assistance of Sumner in the Senate

The failure of the Confederacy

An end to Napoleon's enterprise

Napoleon bowed out of Mexico by Seward

Volume 46, Pages 56-58

The arbitration of claims against Great Britain

Volume 46, Pages 31-38

Irritation in the Civil War

Great Britain's recognition of the South as belligerent

The Trent affair

The acknowledged mistake of the North

Confederate rams and commerce-raiders

Products of British shipyards

The *Alabama* and the *Florida*

The destruction of Northern commerce

The Fenian raid into Canada from the North

The American claims against Great Britain

Property destroyed

Indirect losses

Insurance

The cost of pursuit

The prolongation of the war

The fury of Sumner

British refusal to negotiate

President Grant

The repudiation of Sumner's demands

The arbitration of claims against Great Britain—Continued

The negotiation of the Treaty of Washington

Provision for arbitration of the claims

The Geneva Tribunal

The part of C. F. Adams, American commissioner

The award to the United States

CHAPTER XVI

THE RISE OF BIG BUSINESS

DURING the first sixty years of the Nineteenth Century the United States grew until it nearly equalled in area the whole of Europe, the most amazing feat of expansion and settlement that the world had ever known. The American people were still moving rapidly and steadily westward to fill up the empty spaces when a grim war between the states all but split the nation into two. Few Americans realized, when this struggle was ended, that their country was on the verge of an industrial expansion as amazing as the territorial growth which had preceded. By the middle of the century many European nations had advanced far into a new industrial civilization. The United States still remained largely a nation of pioneering farmers. Hidden in the territory of the young nation was mineral wealth surpassing all European conceptions. Yet at the end of the Civil

War, he would have been a bold American indeed who would have predicted that, before the century had ended, his country would have outstripped the world's greatest industrial nations in organization and production.

In 1865, business was conducted on what seems by subsequent standards a small scale. There were some corporations, notably to build railroads, but most of the nation's commerce and industry was in the hands of private individuals. Familiar evidences of the new order were lacking: "the cities of skyscrapers, the long miles of steel rails and telegraph poles, the gigantic railroad terminals, the great bridges across the rivers, the many-windowed factories with their tall chimneys, their clouds of smoke and their flaming furnaces." The business man of the Sixties did not have the money, the labor, the ability to accumulate materials, nor the organization to produce these results; but, in the span of a generation they were accomplished. During the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, America forged rapidly ahead into a position of unquestioned economic superiority over the rest of the world.

Five things brought it about: communications improved for the transportation of materials and

the transmission of ideas over vast distances; new machines of tremendous power and wonderful dexterity; labor to direct the machines and do the work which only men could do; organization to co-ordinate the multitude of operations and to regulate the activities of the laborers employed in the process of manufacture and sale; and concentration of capital to furnish the financial power necessary for the formation of gigantic enterprises. Underneath all was the basic factor of America's wealth in natural resources.

Strong leaders appeared to build up those great enterprises. They warred among themselves, with a ruthlessness in their early conflicts reminiscent of the battles by which the red man had been driven from his hunting grounds. The strongest and most fortunate won. Then they began to unite for the purpose of forming still greater enterprises. The corporation became the "trust"; competition broke down. Much of the wealth created by the new developments passed into the control of a powerful few. They became industrial giants who gathered into their own hands the factories and systems of transportation of the nation. America, and then the world, became their market. Again and again they sur-

passed their competitors abroad. They accumulated wealth hitherto undreamed of. When the Great War shook Europe to its foundations, their financial center became the financial center of the world, and the economic power which they had amassed became a powerful factor in checking rampant militarism.

They were few, these industrial giants, yet they were but the leaders of an army of business men out of whose ranks they had come and whence new figures were constantly emerging. Thus, the old American ideal of democracy passed over into the new era. The pioneer spirit of the old frontier stirred the farsighted organizer in the new order. The qualities of courage, aggressiveness, and steadfastness that had marked the rough origins of America marked also the strenuous development of the newer civilization. As the Nineteenth Century passed, the task of creating a nation in a wilderness had nearly reached completion.

The Evolution of Big Business

Volume 39, Chapter I

The contrast of yesterday and today

The new vocabulary of business

The advent of large-scale production

The growth of corporations

The substitution of combination for competition

The appearance of great fortunes

Merchant princes replaced by captains of industry

166 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Evolution of Big Business—Continued

The effects of the Civil War

Stimulation of production in the North

The rapid increase of immigration

Changes in the routes of transportation

The birth of industries

Woolen mills

Shoe factories

The migration of the unemployed across the Mississippi

Commodore Vanderbilt, pioneer of the new age

Railroad Building

The expansion of Eastern railroads Volume 38, Pages 13-19

The New York Central " " Pages 29-46

Cornelius Vanderbilt

The construction of a system

Feeding lines

The Pennsylvania " " Pages 50-63

A state system

Connections with the West and the East

The tunnel into New York City

Non-speculative management

"Community of interest"

Other railroads

The Erie Volume 38, Pages 71-94

"The football of Wall Street"

Drew, expert at fleecing

His war with Vanderbilt

The corruption of legislatures

Jay Gould at Albany

Systematic looting

Stabilization by Morgan interests

A coal carrier

The Baltimore and Ohio Volume 38, Pages 102-120

Prosperity with Garrett!

Dividends paid from capital

Disillusionment

Competition with the Pennsylvania

Railroad Building—Continued

Evil days

The restoration by Morgan interests

“Community of interest”

The Pennsylvania

Harriman

The Union Pacific

Willard, the modern railroad executive

Rails from coast to coast

Construction of the Union Pacific

Competition with the Central Pacific

Land grants

Building scandals

The Credit Mobilier

Compare Volume 43, Page 43

Rival routes into the Central West

Consolidations and railroad wars

The figures of Harriman and Huntington

The expansion of the Union Pacific

The Southern Pacific

The Oregon roads

Development of the Pacific Northwest

Volume 38, Chapter VII

The Northern Pacific

The enterprise of Jay Cooke

The Panic of 1873

Receivership

Villard and German capital

The crash of 1893

The entrance of Morgan

The alliance with Hill

The spectacular contest between Hill and Harriman

Volume 41, Chapter VI

Their understanding

Volume 47, Pages 91-93

The Northern Securities Company

Dissolution by the decision of the Supreme
Court

Hill's Great Northern

Volume 38, Chapter IX

Beginnings with the St. Paul and Pacific

Trade on the Red River with Winnipeg

168 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Railroad Building—Continued

The future Lord Strathcona

The wheat crop of 1877

Hill's dream of a road to the Pacific

Successful business methods

Low operating costs

Control of the Burlington

Development of the new Southwest Volume 38, Chapter VIII

The Santa Fé

Penetration into New Mexico

Competition with the Southern Pacific

Connections with the East at Chicago

Progress under Ripley

Railroads in the South

Volume 38, Chapter X

The Southern Railway system

The temporary interest of the Pennsylvania

Brice and organization

The hard times of 1893

The services of Morgan

Harriman, railroad romancer

Volume 38, Chapter XI

The Illinois Central

The Union Pacific

Support by Kuhn, Loeb and Company

The absorption of the Oregon lines

The struggle with Huntington's Southern Pacific

The clash with Hill

Volume 41, Chapter VI

The contest for the Burlington

Volume 47, Page 91

The scramble for Northern Pacific shares

Compromise and merger

The Northern Securities Company

Dissolution by the Supreme Court

Visions in the East

Harriman's negotiations for the New York Central

Domination over the Baltimore and Ohio

A coast to coast system

Lines north and south

Present policies

Abandonment of expansion

Efficient operation

Railroad Building—Continued

Changing public sentiment

More stringent regulation of railroads

The railroad problem today Volume 38, Chapter XII

The effects of speculation and stock-jobbing

The attitude of the farmer

Compare Volume 45, Chapters III-IV

and Volume 45, Page 129-143, 198

Demands for government legislation

Granger laws

Railroad rate laws

Public servants or private enterprises?

The struggle in Illinois

Maximum fares

Freight charges based upon distance

The state railroad commission

Munn versus Illinois

The public interest upheld

Partial success of the railroads

Manipulation of service

The problem of interstate traffic

The way cleared for the Federal Interstate

Commerce Commission

The Wabash case

Volume 38, Page 232

The transition from expansion to efficient operation

Demands for lower rates

The decline of the theory of competition

The necessity for monopoly

The growth of the conception, public service corporations

The increasing power of the Interstate Commerce Commission

Roosevelt's administration Volume 38, Pages 233-235

Compare Volume 47, Chapter VII

A new principle

The power of Congress to fix railroad wages

The Adamson law Compare Volume 40, Chapter VII

Threats of the brotherhoods

The decision of the Supreme Court

170 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Railroad Building—Continued

- The railroads in the World War
- Governmental control
- Operation as a single system

Volume 37, Pages 146-156

Great Inventions

- Agents of communication
 - Presses, linotypes, typewriters
 - Phonographs and cameras
 - Edison and Eastman
 - Motion pictures
- Electricity, servant of man
- Pioneers
 - Gilbert, Franklin, and Henry
- Achievements after the Civil War
 - The arc light
 - Brush
 - The work of Edison
 - Multiplex telegraphy
 - Incandescent lamps
 - Motors and batteries
 - Westinghouse and others
 - The telephone
 - Bell and Gray
- The airplane
 - Franklin and the balloon
 - Langley's experiments
 - The Wrights
 - Glenn Curtis and the seaplane
 - The flight of the NC4
 - Commercial air routes

“ “ Chapter IX

Compare Volume 39, Pages 86-100

Volume 37, Chapter X

Industrial Giants

- The first trust
- Creation of the Standard Oil Company
- The discovery of petroleum in Pennsylvania
- Kier and Bissell
- Drake's folly
- Van Syckel's pipe line

Volume 39, Chapter II

Industrial Giants—Continued

The career of John D. Rockefeller

Refineries

His assets

Adequate capital

Technical resources

Absorption of rival companies

The purchasing campaign

A marketing system

The South Improvement Company

The railroad rebate

The responsibility of the Pennsylvania Railroad

The part of Rockefeller

The soul of the New York Central

Violation of the law

Ruthless war on competing refineries

Cut-throat sales

The bribery of railroad agents

"Bogus companies"

The Trust

The suit of Ohio

Organization in New Jersey

The decision of the United States Supreme Court

Nominal dissolution Compare Volume 47, Page 93

Reappearance of competition

New discoveries of petroleum

Rival companies

Steel

Kelly and the Bessemer process

Iron ore about Lake Superior

The union of Superior ore and Pennsylvania coal

The genius of Carnegie

Compare Volume 41,
Chapter III

His ability to pick men

Their pace-maker

Phipps, Frick, and Schwab

The accountant

The coke-maker

The handler of men

172 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Industrial Giants—Continued

- The share of the railroad and ore-boat
- Other steel kingdoms
 - Birmingham in Alabama
 - Colorado
 - Rockefeller interests
- John W. Gates, gambler
 - Texas cattle and barbed wire
 - The American Steel & Wire Company
- The battle of giants Compare Volume 41, Chapter V
- The desire of Carnegie to sell out
 - His antipathy for Wall Street
 - His elusive price
 - The encroachment of Wall Street into steel manufacturing
 - Carnegie's counter-trusts
- The nervousness of Wall Street
 - The capitulation of Morgan to Carnegie
- The organization of the United States Steel Corporation
- The Telephone Volume 39, Chapter IV
 - Bell's invention
 - His many successors in improvement
 - Vail's business genius
 - The vision of national service
 - The war between the Bell company and the Western Union Telegraph
 - The treaty of peace
 - Consolidation
 - The Western Electric
 - Factory for telephone apparatus
 - The American Telephone and Telegraph Company
 - A national public-service corporation
- Public Utilities Volume 39, Chapter V
 - Street car lines in the United States
 - Gas and electric light companies
 - The scramble for franchise
 - A sordid phase of American life
 - Municipal politics

Industrial Giants—Continued

“Graft”

Speculation

“Wall Street”

Yerkes's hold on Chicago

Widener and Philadelphia

His rise from butcher to boss

The strange career of W. C. Whitney in New York

The noiseless co-operation of Thomas Fortune

Ryan

The great syndicate

“The holding company”

Profitable leases

Construction accounts

“Prying eyes” thwarted

The public

The escape of the “inside gentlemen”

The Metropolitan unloaded on investors

Its crash in 1907 Compare Volume 41, Chapter VIII

Volume 47, Page 101

Public protection

State utility commissions

Farm machinery

Volume 39, Chapter VI

McCormick and the reaper

The amazement of Europe

Succeeding improvements

The harvester

The twine-binder

Development of large scale production

Sales efficiency

The International Harvester Company

Combination instead of competition

The work of Perkins

The automobile

Volume 39, Chapter VII

An uncertain infancy

A youth of giant stature

Henry Ford's conception

A car for every family

The tools of American industry

174 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Industrial Giants—Continued

- Quantity production
- Standardization
- Labor-saving machinery
- The contrast of Vanderbilt and Ford
- The change of industrial ideals

The Rôle of the Financier

The greatest power in finance Volume 41, Chapter I

- The origin of the Morgan interests
- George Peabody in London
- Partnership with Junius Morgan
- John Pierpont Morgan
- Alliance with Dabney
- The Drexels

Competition with Jay Cooke

Finance in the Civil War

Success with the French loan

Morgan, railroad financier Compare Volume 38, Chapter II

The Long Island Railroad

The rescue of Vanderbilt

The New York Central

The discomfiture of Jay Gould

The chaos of the eighties

The union of the West Shore with the New York
Central

Reorganization of the Philadelphia and Reading

Aid for the Baltimore and Ohio

The Chesapeake and Ohio

The Southern Railway system

Morgan's protection of English investors

Drastic remedies for the Erie

Morgan's "voting trust"

Steadying hands for other roads

The Hocking Valley

The Northern Pacific

The Santa Fé

The Lehigh Valley

The Central of Georgia

The Rôle of the Financier—Continued

- Workers in iron Volume 41, Chapter III
- Carnegie, accumulator of wealth
- Steel transformed into gold
- Frick's coke
- Rockefeller's ore fields
- The intrusion of high finance “ “ Chapter V
- The vogue of consolidation Volume 39, Chapter III
- The resistance of Carnegie
- The offer of Moore
- The advances of Rockefeller
- Morgan's contest with Carnegie
- Rival plants
- The capitulation of Morgan
- Schwab as intermediary
- The price of a Scotchman
- The Steel Trust
- Threat, finesse, and purchase
- Morgan, Perkins, and Gary
- Rockefeller won by Frick
- The Standard Oil in finance Volume 41, Chapter IV
- Compare Volume 39, Chapter II
- Early independence of banking interests
- Cash reserves
- A bank within an industry
- Participation in the affairs of Wall Street
- The absorption of the City Bank
- The work of Stillman
- The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad
- Support for Harriman and the Union Pacific
- Promotion of the Amalgamated Copper Company
- Interest in public utilities
- Alliance with W. C. Whitney
- The “Money Power”
- Morgan overshadowed
- High Finance Volume 41, Chapter VI
- The sport of duelling with railroads
- Harriman and Fish
- The Illinois Central

176 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Rôle of the Financier—Continued

Harriman and Schiff

The Union Pacific

Harriman and Hill

Compare Volume 38, Chapter VII

Volume 47, Pages 91-93

The Burlington

The Northern Pacific

Rockefeller versus Morgan

The compromise

The Northern Securities Company

Professional manipulators of railroads

Gates and Hawley

The Louisville & Nashville

The Moores and Reid

The Rock Island

The culmination of consolidation

Volume 41, Chapter VII

The International Mercantile Marine

Transatlantic shipping

The International Harvester Company

The General Electric Company

The close linking of railroad systems

The alliances of life insurance companies with trust companies

Public investigation, 1905

The fame of Hughes

Congressional investigation, 1913

Volume 41, Appx.

The processes of concentration

Agents

The peril of the nation

The turn of 1907

Volume 41, Chapter VIII

Schwab and Bethlehem steel

Morse and coastwise shipping

The panic

The result of "high finance"

The failure of Morse

The crash of the Knickerbocker Trust Company

Morgan's rescue of the Tennessee Company

Violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law

The Rôle of the Financier—Continued

The consent of President Roosevelt

Compare Volume 47, Pages 101-104

The end of "high finance"

Harriman's death

The conservative control of Morgan and Rockefeller interests

Davison and Vanderlip, leaders of the new generation

Public aversion

Aggressive actions of the government

The dissolution of trusts

Presidents Roosevelt and Taft

Compare Volume 47, Chapter XII

Tightening legislation

The control of railroad rates

Checks upon interlocking directorates

CHAPTER XVII

THE CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALISM

AMERICAN life had to adjust itself to the new industrial order which came after the Civil War. The American conception of democracy, an equal chance for everyone, gave opportunity for a few strong men to climb to dizzy heights of fortune and power, but laboring men stumbled over one another and got nowhere. Farmers found themselves in a new situation. Before the War they had formed so large a part of the population that they had never thought of themselves as a separate group. In the forty years after 1860 the population of the nation more than doubled. Of that great increase the larger part massed in the cities, making them huge congested areas presenting strange problems to the new generation. By 1920, city dwellers outnumbered the rural population. Economists estimate that now every husbandman must produce food enough for three

families. Both laboring man and farmer rapidly became conscious of their special interests. Each group turned to collective action to protect itself in the contest with the rising power of capitalism.

Laborers endeavored to obtain better wages and working conditions but they were not able to keep pace with the growing strength of the employer. As a result, times that were particularly hard drove the wage-earner to violence. The terrors of 1877, 1886, and 1894 impressed upon thinking men that all was not well in American society even if huge corporations were towering above ordinary business structures and some men grew fabulously rich. During the Eighties it seemed as though the secret organization, the Knights of Labor, might draw the laboring class into one big union. But its radical excesses in 1886 discredited the organization. It collapsed with unexpected suddenness. The American Federation of Labor, based on sounder principles, took its place as the national body of organized labor. Apart from the Federation have grown up four strong railroad brotherhoods. Together, they have held in check radical elements within their organizations, scorning the "Reds" as un-American. But they have failed to put labor in the place of power that it desires

and that in some industrial countries it has attained.

The ranks of American labor have been swelled by a host of Europeans who came to man machines in the new factories, to lay railroad tracks, and to mine coal and metals for America's industries. The appeal of high wages and cheap land in America was felt throughout Europe. Prior to the Civil War the north of Europe had furnished the majority of those who sought the United States, but, as American industry grew, the main source shifted to Mediterranean countries. A few of these newcomers struck out as of old for the frontier but most of them crowded into the great manufacturing cities. Their babble of foreign tongues and confusion of national prejudices defied the process of Americanization that had worked rapidly among the earlier immigrants. The test of the World War brought sharply into view the failures of the American "melting pot." The conviction has grown upon the American people that the flood of aliens must be checked if the racial character of the nation is to be preserved. The old policy of welcome to all has been replaced by close restriction.

No more marked was the effect of industrialism

on labor than on the farmer. As Eastern capitalists spread a web of railroads over the continent, the Western homesteaders became conscious of common interests with the farmers of the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys and of the South. Railroad monopolies and high freight rates goaded the farmers to take collective action in Granges and Alliances. Many state legislatures passed "Grange Laws" to regulate the railroads. In the long run, however, the agrarian organizations failed. Most spectacular of all was the defeat of the Populist party in 1896. In the Twentieth Century the farmers have learned the art of organization and now enjoy the political power which it brings.

The new industrial age has made significant changes in the South. When the ordeal of Reconstruction had passed, the Southerners faced the task of building a new civilization upon the ruins of the old. The negro was a freeman. The white man staggered under a load of public and private debt. Yet, in less than half a century a new South has emerged. Its life, although different from that of the rest of the nation, shows unmistakably that forces operating in the West and North are also active in the Cotton Kingdom. The small

farmer has usurped the place once held by the old aristocratic planter and, like the western farmer, has caught the meaning of organization. As industrialism has worked its way southward, mines, steel mills, and textile factories have increased. A new white labor group has formed. But the negro question, from earliest times the peculiar problem of the South, remains — as yet unanswered.

Industrialism created a New South. It brought new problems to the laborer and the farmer. The whole economic foundation of the nation was changing and in adjustment to it the entire superstructure of American civilization was being rebuilt. If the factories created great cities, humanitarianism sought to relieve the misery and degradation of the slum. Religion offered the mission, the Salvation Army, and the Christian Associations. Rich churches that had supported the struggling missionaries on the frontier now also established outposts among the poor. Education took on a new significance as the public school became the center of Americanization. As the tasks of the new day had become intricate, colleges and universities turned to the training of specialists. There was little time for quiet medi-

tation. Men of letters appeared here and there, but their message was not matured, for they lived in a time of transition. They were linked to the men of the Fifties who had brought American literature into flower and pointed the way to the future when the ideals and emotions of the new order should become articulate.

The Story of Labor

Industrial anarchy after the Civil War Volume 40, Chapter IV

Panics close upon prosperity

The anguish of labor

Strikes

The terrors of '77 and '86

The Haymarket riots

The armor of labor

Organization

Collective action

Higher wages

The eight hour day

The spread of state legislation

The Knights of Labor

Stephens and Powderly

The crisis of 1886

The decline of the order

Efforts of the national government

Methods of arbitration and conciliation

President Cleveland Compare Volume 44, Pages 128-132

The rise of the American Federation of Labor

Volume 40, Chapter V

The super-organization of labor

Associated trade unions

The annual convention

Gompers

Democratic principles

184 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Story of Labor—Continued

Diplomatic control

Lobbyist at Washington

The menace of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law

The exemption of labor

The Clayton Act, 1914

Volume 40, Page 184

The patriotism of the Federation during the World

War

Labor at the Peace Conference

International labor legislation

The trade union

The local

Association of fellow workers

Adaptation to shifting industrial lines

Aggressive personalities

John Mitchell and the United Mine Workers

The strike of 1902

The part of President Roosevelt

Compare Volume 47, Pages 115-120

Railroad brotherhoods

Volume 40, Chapter VII

Engineers

Solidarity and statesmanship

Strict standards of membership

Success with the collective contract

Boards of adjustment

Care of the individual

Insurance and pensions

The dispute of 1912

The Eastern railroads

The strike threat

The board of arbitration

Its decision

The supremacy of public interest

The dissent of labor

Conductors, Firemen, and Trainmen

Efficient leadership

The coup of 1916 Compare Volume 38, Pages 236-241

The swing of the pendulum

Strike threats of the Brotherhoods

The Story of Labor—Continued

Demands for increased pay

Hours of labor involved

The refusal of arbitration by the Brotherhoods

The action of the government

The compliance of President Wilson with the
insistence of the Brotherhoods

Forced legislation by Congress

The Adamson law

Validated by the Supreme Court

Government management of the railroads

A war measure

McAdoo's readjustment of wages

Proposals of the Brotherhoods

The Plumb plan

Government ownership

Joint operation

Contentions and methods

Volume 40, Chapter VII

Standard wage rates

Collective trade agreements

The closed shop

Strikes, picketing, and boycott

Military organization

War chests

Dangers of lawlessness

Dynamite and murder

The union label

The co-operation of trade unions

Restriction of output

Rules governing a day's work

Opposition to piece work

"Government by injunction"

" " Pages 252-256

Reactionary courts

Deprivation of liberty

Jury trial

The Reds

" " Chapter IX

Syndicalism in Europe

Floating labor in America

Ripeness for radicalism

The Story of Labor—Continued

The Western Federation of Miners

Violence and outrage

Forerunner of the "I. W. W."

The Industrial Workers of the World

The liability of the American Federation of Labor

Visions of world conquest

A new social order

Haywood

The Lawrence strike in 1912

The army of the unemployed, 1914

New York City

Public reaction

Force met with force

Expulsion of the "I. W. W." from cities in

Washington

Activities during the World War

Opposition to war

Draft evasion

Local vigilantes

Conspiracy

The Espionage Act

American labor in politics

Volume 40, Chapter XI

Early failures

The working men's parties of the thirties

The National Labor Union of 1866

The Labor Reform party of 1872

Its national convention

The overshadowing Greenback movement, 1876-1884

The "venerable Peter Cooper"

The hero, General J. B. Weaver

The "lurid Ben Butler"

Ephemeral labor parties

Tax Reformers, Anti-Monopolists, Homesteaders

Henry George

A meteor across the horizon of labor

A new alliance with Western farmers

The Populist party, 1892

Labor tickets in state campaigns

CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALISM 187

The Story of Labor—Continued

Chinese labor in California, 1877

Kearneyism

The rise of the Socialist party

The Socialist Labor convention, 1892

Debs and the Social-Democrats, 1900

Candidate again in 1904 and 1908

Increasing local power

Berger and Milwaukee

Ill reputation in the World War

The opposition of the American Federation to a labor party

Preference for a whip hand over the old parties

Gompers and the lobby

Congressmen and the labor vote

The present grievance

The open shop and injunctions

Immigration

Volume 35, Pages 141-146

The third stream of German immigrants

The change after 1870

The Prussian air

The German press

The Fatherland idolized

The German vote in the United States

The interest of the Kaiser

Homesteaders

Volume 35, Chapter VII

Scandinavian settlers in the Northwest

Bohemians in the Mississippi valley

Poles and Finns

Urban hordes

Volume 35, Chapter VIII

Slavs, Lithuanians, Magyars

Fuel for American mills

Jews

Bankers, peddlers, garment makers

Recruits for radicalism

Italians, North and South

Colonies in large cities

Outdoor laborers

188 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Immigration—Continued

- Greeks
 - Confectioners and bootblacks
- Portuguese
 - Factory hands in New England
 - Gardeners in California
- Armenians and Syrians
 - The trader at the front door
- The meeting ground of West and East
 - Volume 35, Chapter IX
- The Chinese in California
 - Compare Volume 44, Page 31
 - Volume 46, Page 224
 - Volume 40, Pages 238-242
- Coolie labor for gold mines and railroads
- The hostility of American labor
 - Recent Americans from Ireland
 - Dennis Kearney
- The Burlingame Treaty
 - The Angell Mission
 - Chinese exclusion acts
- The Jap in America
 - Volume 46, Pages 235-237
- The rage of Californians
 - Alien land bills
 - Japanese-American agreements
 - Restrictions upon emigration of labor
- Hindoos and Afghans
- Racial infiltration
 - Volume 35, Chapter X
- Rejected or abandoned lands
 - The peasant's instinct
- The Italian and the Slav
 - Louisiana, Texas, and California
 - Virginia, New England, and the Northwest
 - Worn out plantations
 - Cut over timber lands
- The transformation of factory centers
 - Lawrence, Massachusetts
 - Johnstown, Pennsylvania
- New factory towns
 - Gary and Whiting, Indiana

CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALISM 189

Immigration—Continued

Mining villages

The American policy

Volume 35, Chapter XI

Early welcome

Waves of anti-foreign feeling

The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798

The Know-nothing party of the fifties

The American Protective Association, 1896

Immigration laws

The law of 1819

The law of 1882

Selective immigration

The exclusion of contract labor, 1885

The law of 1891

Federal control

Excluded classes

Lodge's bill of 1896

The literacy test

Veto by President Cleveland

The law of 1903

Comprehensive regulation

The law of 1907

Roosevelt's interest

The Immigration Commission

Contests over the literacy law

Taft's veto

Wilson's two vetoes

Passage over his second vetoes

The law of 1917

Exclusion, the dominant idea

The Disappearance of the Frontier

The cattle kings

Volume 26, Chapter VIII

Indian reservations

Northward trails

Moving cattle herds

Cow towns

The law of the vigilantes

Cattle markets

190 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Disappearance of the Frontier—Continued

- The Chicago stock-yards
- Barbed wire fences and cattle associations
- The arrival of the homesteader Volume 26, Chapter IX
- The vanguard of settlement
- The end of the cattle range
- The hand of the government
- Removal of illegal inclosures, 1885
- The doom of the cattle ranch
- The Dawes Act of 1887
- The allotment of Indian lands
- The rush into Oklahoma
- Railroads and land booms
- Kansas in 1886
- Wildcat irrigation schemes
- War between sheepherder and cowman
- The Wyoming dead line
- Large scale farming
- Wheat
- The one-crop country
- The Canadian frontier
- Lure for the restless American

The Story of the Farmer

- The ground-swell of discontent Volume 45, Chapter II
- Over production following the Civil War
- Declining prices of farm products
- The blight of mortgages
- The effect of high protective tariffs
- Dependence upon railroad transportation
- World markets
- The panic of 1873 Compare Volume 38, Pages 157-222
Volume 40, Page 66
- The desperation of the farmer
- High rates of interest
- High costs of transportation
- Hatred of corporations
- The monopoly of railroads
- The weapon of the farmer Volume 45, Chapters I, III

CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALISM 191

The Story of the Farmer—Continued

Collective action

The grange

Its social and secret organization

Its program

Agricultural education

Co-operative marketing

War on monopolies

The grange in politics

State legislatures

Grange laws Compare Volume 38, Pages 222-229

Anti-monopoly

Granger politicians

Taylor and Donnelly

The attack upon the railroads Volume 45, Chapter IV

Compare Volume 38, Pages 228-238

Producer versus non-producer

Western farmer against Eastern magnate

The railroad lobby

State legislatures

Railroad rate laws

Public servants or private enterprises?

The struggle in Illinois

Maximum fares

Freight charges based upon distance

The state railroad commission

Munn versus Illinois

The public interest upheld

Partial success of the railroads

Manipulation of service

The problem of interstate traffic

The way cleared for the Federal Interstate

Commerce Commission

The Wabash case

The failure of the grange Volume 45, Chapter V

Unsound growth

Half-hearted adherents

Unstable organization

Inclusion of disloyal elements

The Story of the Farmer—Continued

Impractical co-operative schemes

Dislike of the middle man

Failures in attempts to manufacture farming implements

Bankruptcy

Achievements of the grange

Better understanding between farmer and manufacturer

Social and intellectual stimulus

The educative value of grange meetings

Farm journals and newspapers

The lure of currency inflation Volume 45, Chapter VI

The place of the farmer in the Greenback movement

Increasing distress in the eighties and nineties

Volume 45, Chapter VII

The downward trend of prices

Agricultural products

Mortgages and taxes

Rapacious railroads

The return to collective action Volume 45, Chapter VIII

Farmers' Alliances: secret societies

Born of necessity

Beginnings in Texas

Ventures in business

Activity in politics

The Agricultural Wheel

Union with the Alliance

A Southern organization

Lingering sectional feeling

The Northwestern Alliance

Co-operative grain elevators

Political action

Attempts at union

Rapid decline before a rising political party

The Populist movement

The Construction of a New South

A new structure from old materials

Volume 42, Chapter I

CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALISM 193

The Construction of a New South—Continued

The effect of vindictive altruism

“Reconstruction”

Its hindrance of industrial development

The false position of the freedman

The stupor of defeat dispelled

The struggle for the supremacy of the white
man

Volume 42, Chapter II

The victory of the Confederate soldier

The “Solid South”

Republican islands in a Democratic sea

Unionist mountaineers

Descendants of Jacksonian Democrats

Elimination of the negro vote

The staggering burden of debt

War obligations

Repudiation

Extravagances of the carpetbag government

Volume 42, Pages 227-233

The rule of “rebel brigadiers”

Unreconstructed emotions

Rejection of Federal aid for education

The rising generation

The revolt of the middle class

Volume 42, Chapter III

Common cause with the Westerner

The difficulty of co-operation

The presence of the negro

Granges and Alliances

Separate organizations

The place of cotton

The high price immediately following the Civil War

The salvation of the South

Declining prices in the eighties and nineties

The index of agrarian discontent in the South

Growing hostility toward the “Money
Power”

Wall Street

The rejection of old Confederate leaders

The overthrow of the “old families”

194 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Construction of a New South—Continued

The triumph of Tillman in South Carolina, 1890

A revolution in the South

The common man in power

A struggle primarily within the Democratic party

The Republican party disgraced

Constant fear of negro participation in politics

Populism in the South

A menace to white supremacy

Division of the Democratic party

Elaborated devices of disfranchisement

Poll taxes

Literacy tests

Discrimination

Residence requirements

Disqualifying crimes

Grandfather clauses

The decision of the Supreme Court, 1915

The Oklahoma Case

The popularity of prohibition

Fear of the negro

The predicament of the farmer

Volume 42, Chapter IV

Economic slavery

The "crop lien" and chattel mortgage

The country merchant as the farmer's banker

The strangle hold of credit

Store accounts

The tenant system

Farming on shares

Virtual peonage for the negro

The brighter side

A large percentage of land under cultivation by the owner

Agricultural colleges and experiment stations

The county demonstrator

Corn and canning clubs

Improvement of roads

Rural telephones

Agricultural journals

CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALISM 195

The Construction of a New South—Continued

The Federal Farm Loan Act, 1910

Removal of mortgages

Industrial development

Volume 42, Chapter V

Ante-bellum manufactures

The destructive effects of the Civil War

Renewed activity in textile mills

Southern Expositions in the eighties

Atlanta and New Orleans

Northern investments

Southern savings, the greater part of the new capital

The progress of North Carolina in cotton manufacture

A leader among Southern states

Second only to Massachusetts

Cotton seed products

Salad oil

Fertilizer

Lumbering

Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina

The iron industry

Birmingham, Alabama

Tobacco

The American Tobacco Company

North Carolina

Labor in the South

Volume 42, Chapter VI

Textile operatives

The movement of families from farm to mill village

Child labor

The rural attitude

Agricultural environment

Sterile soil for the labor agitator

Little interest in organized labor

Workers in tobacco factories

The replacement of the negro by machinery

White operators

The wage system

The day's pay

Piece work

The place of the negro

196 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Construction of a New South—Continued

Hardest, least pleasant tasks

The race problem

Volume 42, Chapter VII

The negro, a black Saxon?

The Southern view

The negro, an inferior

The negro in the South

Agriculturist and domestic servant

The Southern color line

Work beside white women

The slow advance of education of the negro

The northward migration

The northern reception

Disillusionment of the negro

The white man's nameless dread

Booker T. Washington's plan to prevent the explosion

Economic independence for the negro

His enemies

Negro "intellectuals"

Social aspirations

The lowest third of the white community

A vicious sense of superiority

The great necessity

A change in human nature

Admission of racial equality in the American
political and social system

Education in the South

Volume 42, Chapter VIII

Public schools since the Civil War

The blight of reconstruction

Negro schools

Restoration of Southern control

Separate schools

Reaction from carpetbag extravagance

The Peabody Fund

Northern philanthropy

Southern apathy

Private education for the few

Distrust of education for the negro

Booker T. Washington and the negro

CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALISM 197

The Construction of a New South—Continued

Hampton	
Tuskegee	
Industrial training	
The recent spread of public education	
High schools	
Southern colleges	
Revival of old institutions	
Vanderbilt University	
Growing denominational colleges	
The South of today	Volume 42, Chapter IX
Dying prejudices	
Occupations befitting gentlemen	
Waning traditions	
The leadership of the planters	
Changing standards	
Prohibition	
The Sabbath	
Social ferment	
Disappearance of the Southern colonel	
Arrival of the business woman	
The code of honor	

The Development of Education

Technical training	
Beginnings before the Civil War	Volume 33, Chapter XIV
The effect of the Morrill Act	
Agricultural colleges	" " XV
Higher education for women	" " XVI
Girls' schools	
Women's colleges	
Co-education in the West	
Catholic education	" " XIII
Franciscan missions	
Jesuit colleges	
Parochial schools	
Innovations and reforms	" " XVII
Sheldon and Alcott	
The Quincy experiment	

198 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Development of Education—Continued

The Gary system

The university of today

Volume 33, Chapter XVIII

Expanding curricula

Athletics and fraternities

Extension courses

Missionaries of American education

Turkey and China

The Literature of the New Union

Volume 34, Chapter X

The span of a lifetime

The work of Howells

“The Second Discovery of America”

Mark Twain, observer

Bret Harte, prospector

Jack London’s West

Alaska

The Scotsmen, Miller and Muir

Southern writers

Harris and Page

James Whitcomb Riley

The “abandoned farm” of New England

Henry James

Child of America

Citizen of England

Stedman, Gilder, and Aldrich

The American short story

O. Henry

Writers of nature study

Burroughs

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEW SECTIONALISM

THE Civil War left the Republican party in complete control of the national government. The Democrats were discredited by secession in the South and opposition to the war in the North. Furthermore, the Southern whites were disfranchised. As the negroes had been given the vote they had been herded into the ranks of the Republicans. Enjoying the prestige of military victory, the party of Lincoln could look forward to a long lease of power at Washington. Its security in power, however, was one of its greatest dangers.

From the idealism of the war period Republican leaders plunged into the vindictiveness of reconstruction. By giving the negro the vote, they created a "Solid South" in opposition. Moreover, as industrialism developed, manufacturers and railroad builders had favors to ask of the

politician both state and national. They naturally approached the party in power. Big business became intimately allied with the Republican party. Agrarian groups watched this rapprochement with misgivings. Politics like all other phases of American life were making adjustments to the new order.

The most striking of these was the intricate development of the party machine and the rising power of the political boss. More and more the opportunities of business drew the best men away from competition for public office. They did not, however, abandon politics but exerted their influence through dealing with the boss and his organization. As a result, the class of professional politicians grew in number and importance. The sustaining force of the party machine was the material reward which faithful service could ensure. These were sometimes profitable contracts but more often offices in the civil service of the state or nation. The henchmen of the party in power lived on the fruits of victory. Opponents hoped for the day when their turn would come. The corruption which came to the surface in Grant's administration and continued vindictiveness toward the South brought inevitable reaction.

Liberal Republicans broke with the organization of their party in 1872 and centered their attack upon the "spoils system." Western farmers also wavered in their Republican allegiance. They believed that the party was granting undue favors to Northern manufacturers and Eastern railroad capitalists. Protective tariffs, high freight rates, and a contracting currency all seemed to be designed for the benefit of the North and East. Agrarian parties from the West, therefore, entered national politics and sought alliances with Eastern laborers and fellow farmers in the South. A new sectionalism had appeared. But, one after another, the parties of protest met failure. The machine remained unshaken. The connection between business and politics grew closer.

For a quarter century, from 1861 to 1885, the Republican party held the presidency. Within its ranks the struggle between the liberals and the organization continued. When President Garfield was assassinated by a disappointed office-seeker, the machine gave way to the demand for civil service reform. But, in many respects, Republican policy was unsound. Divisions within the party widened. In 1884, a reformer from the North led the Democrats to victory.

For twelve years Cleveland remained a central figure on the political stage. Although imbued with liberal ideas, he was also sympathetic with the point of view of business. In his first administration, he advocated a lower tariff to eliminate surplus revenues, stopped short pension abuses, studied carefully the wave of violence and social unrest of 1886, and approved a regulation of railroads by a federal Interstate Commerce Commission. But he flatly refused to ally himself with the Western farmers who, as their financial distress increased, clamored for the expansion of the currency by the free coinage of silver. The times were chaotic. Cleveland was swept from power in 1888 by the Republican, Harrison. The Republicans promptly revised the tariff to increase protection, widened the scope of the pension law, and voted to spend the national surplus on the improvement of rivers and harbours. They sought to win Western support with the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They abandoned a "Force Bill" directed against Southern disenfranchisement of the negro. Nevertheless, a popular revolt overthrew Harrison. Cleveland returned to power.

Cleveland's second administration marked a

pause on the eve of a great battle. The Panic of 1893 and the labor troubles which followed disarranged political plans. Cleveland antagonized the West by forcing the repeal of the Sherman Silver Act to meet the necessities of the treasury. He returned to tariff reform only to receive from his own party a bill so full of protectionist jobbery that in disgust he allowed it to become a law without his signature. He angered labor by sending federal troops to Chicago to protect the mails in the Pullman strike. But amid all the troubles that beset his administration he held firm to his refusal to cheapen American currency by permitting the free coinage of silver. His reward came in 1896 when he was repudiated by his own party and ridiculed by Republicans.

In that year the forces of the West which had been uniting in the Populist party were captured for the Democratic party by the maneuvers of William Jennings Bryan. The protest of the West was genuine. The farmers perceived real evils; but they chose a remedy which most business men and most men of education believed to be wrong. The Republican party, working under the masterly direction of Mark Hanna, convinced the great middle class of small investors, that free

silver was an economic fallacy and held before laborers the vision of a "full dinner pail." McKinley was elected. The problem of a readjustment of political methods went over to the Twentieth Century for solution.

Behind President McKinley "Big Business" controlled the national administration. Hanna in the Senate and Reed in the House drew the reins of power into their hands. In short order, the Dingley tariff was rushed through both houses. Protectionism flowered with favors for special interests. After the war with Spain, the Gold Standard Act forever laid to rest the turbulent spirit of free silver and bimetallism. At the end of his administration McKinley faced Bryan in a campaign which centered in questions of foreign policy. Should the United States assume the burdens and responsibilities of a colonial empire?

The Effect of War upon Republicanism Volume 43, Chapter III

Corroding vindictiveness

The obliteration of Lincoln's idealism

Black Republicans

"The bloody shirt"

The odor of commercialism

Capture of the Republican party

Scandals in high offices

Volume 45, Page 12

The Effect of War upon Democracy

The stigma of opposition to the war Volume 45, Pages 11-12

The Effect of War upon Democracy—Continued

The white man's party in the South Volume 43, Page 14

Volume 42, Chapter II

“The Solid South”

Reaction against Reconstruction

Grantism in Power

The aftermath of war Volume 43, Chapter III

Compare Volume 38, Pages 125-129

Corruption and official immorality

The Credit Mobilier

Congressmen and the Union Pacific

The Whiskey Ring

Revenue officers and distillers

Belknap, Secretary of War

Graft at Indian posts

The observations of Senator Hoar

The natural outcome in the South Volume 32, Chapter XIII

Grant's changes of policy

The Amnesty Act, 1872

The favored section

Northern manufactures

Volume 45, Pages 14, 20

Protective tariffs

Northern finance

Railroad manipulation Compare Volume 38, Pages 71-89

The re-establishment of the currency Volume 45, Page 83

The resumption of specie payment

Stirrings of Protest

The Liberal Republican movement Volume 45, Chapter II

Purposes:

Administrative reform

Lenience to the South

The candidacy of Horace Greeley

The failure of the alliance with the Democrats

The agrarian parties

Volume 45, Chapter III

Grievances of the western farmers

Railroad rates

“ “

IV

Farmer legislation

“ “

VI

The Greenback party

“ “

VI

206 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Stirrings of Protest—Continued

- Demand for an expanding currency
 - The paper money of the Civil War
 - Opposition to the resumption of specie payment
 - Support of the Bland-Allison Silver Act, 1878
- The alliance of western farmers and eastern laborers
 - The unrest of the working men
 - The National Labor Party of 1872
- Greenback candidates
 - Peter Cooper in 1876
 - Gen. J. B. Weaver in 1880
 - Ben Butler in 1884

The Turning Point of 1876

Volume 32, Pages 294-302

- Revival of war hatreds
 - Blaine and the "bloody shirt"
- The rival candidates
 - Hayes and Tilden
- The disputed election
 - The device
 - An electoral commission
- "The great steal"
 - The selection of Hayes
 - The gentlemen's agreement
 - The end of Northern domination over the South

The predicament of President Hayes

- The dilemma in the South
 - Tolerance for the Confederate or protection for the negro

Sound money or adequate currency

- Hayes' veto of the Bland-Allison bill
- The resumption of specie payment
- Rising industrial unrest

Volume 45, Page 158

" " Page 83

" " Page 88

Compare Volume 40, Chapter IV

The strikes of 1877

- The use of Federal troops
- Rewards to partisans or civil service reform

Volume 43, Pages 139-140

Hayes' removal of Arthur and Cornell

The Growth of Party Machines

The foundations

Volume 43, Chapter IV

Municipal mechanisms

The opportunity of the boss

Public utilities as private playthings

Compare Volume 39, Chapter V

Jobs for loyal vote-getters

Ward heelers and immigrants

Somnolent citizens

A typical machine

Tammany Hall

Volume 43, Chapter V

Its early origin

Aaron Burr

William Mooney

"Trifles for Mrs. Mooney"

Swartwout, Jacksonian

Defaulter in public office

The reign of Tweed

His Ring

The public benefactors

Jennings and Nast

Kelly and Croker

Tammany's scientific organization

The general committee

The executive committee

The district leader

His lieutenants

The house-to-house canvass

The lubricant

Offices, jobs, favors, and charity

Lesser oligarchies

Volume 43, Chapter VI

Philadelphia's Gas Ring

Butler, boss of St. Louis

The reformer Folk

Cox and Cincinnati

Gang politics in San Francisco

Ruef and Schmitz

"Doc" Ames and Minneapolis

Reform

208 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Growth of Party Machines—Continued

State legislatures, party tools	Volume 43, Chapter VII
The legislative caucus	
Electoral districting	
The gerrymander	
Elections of United States Senators	
Legislation	
Favoritism	
Charters and lobbyists	
Blackmail	
Special interests	
The power of the boss	
Tammany and Governor Sulzer	
The Quay Machine in Pennsylvania	
Partisan power at Washington	Volume 43, Chapter VIII
The place of the President	
The puppet of party managers?	
The Speaker of the House	
Czar Reed and the rules	
Committees	
Cannonism	
The insurgents of 1910	
"Senatorial courtesy"	
Party chieftains	Volume 44, Pages 18-24
"Big Business"	
The control of appointments	
A whiphand over the President	Volume 43, Page 140
Reforms	" Chapter IX
State control of elections	
The Australian ballot	
Anti-lobby laws	
The leadership of Massachusetts	
Initiative and referendum	
Government by commission	
City managers	
Primary laws	" " X
Party lists	
Enrollment books	
Central Committees	

The Growth of Party Machines—Continued

- State supervision
- Candidates and platforms
- The "Crawford County Plan"
- Corrupt Practices Acts
- Citizen's tickets
- Fusion candidates

Civil Service Reform

Volume 43, Chapter XI

- Beginnings under Grant
- Previous views of office-holding
 - John Adams
 - Jefferson
 - Jackson
 - "The Spoils System"
- The predicament of Lincoln
- Pioneers
 - Jenckes and Schurz
- Grant and the Commission of 1871
 - G. W. Curtis
 - Failure

Hayes and the Republican machine Volume 43, Pages 139-140

- The removal of Cornell and Arthur
- The activity of the Civil Service Reform League
- Private stimulus to public opinion

Garfield, Arthur, and the Pendleton Act

Volume 43, Pages 140-142

- Garfield's defiance of the New York bosses
- The effect of Garfield's assassination Volume 44, Pages 21-22
- The machine politician as President
- Arthur's support of the Pendleton Act, 1883

Cleveland, Harrison, and the civil service

Volume 44, Pages 109-112

- Cleveland's extension of the system
- Roosevelt as Harrison's commissioner

Volume 47, Chapter III

The Return of Democracy to Power

- The miscarriage of Republican policy Volume 44, Chapter I
- The negro in the South

210 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Return of Democracy to Power—Continued

The end of force bills

Weaknesses in Congressional government

Division within Republican ranks

The election of 1880

“Stalwarts” against “Half-Breeds”

Garfield, Blaine, and Conkling

The impotence of Arthur’s administration

Volume 44, Chapter II

Congressional blundering

Lawlessness in the West

Jesse James

Chinese immigration

Mormon polygamy

Pork-barrel appropriations

The tariff of 1883

Sectional interests

Presidential vetoes

The opportunity of Democracy

The wave of discontent with party leadership

Cleveland’s First Administration

Cleveland’s victory over Blaine, 1884 Volume 44, Chapter III

His previous career

Sheriff, mayor, and governor

New York State

“Mugwump” Republicans

“Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion”

Blaine’s campaign in New York

The deciding state

The restoration of Presidential supremacy

Volume 44, Chapter IV

Senatorial encroachment

Approval of appointments

The repeal of the Tenure of Office Act

The atrophy of the House

Volume 44, Chapter V

The decline of control over legislation

The standing committees

The clique dominating the House

The Committee on Appropriations

Cleveland's First Administration—Continued

The deadening effect of faction

Contesting Democrats

Randall and Morrison

The rise of the Speaker

Cleveland's appointments

Volume 44, Chapter VI

The enforcement of the civil service law

Democratic wrath

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court

Senatorial obstruction

Cleveland and Northern sentimentality

Pension abuses

Presidential vetoes

The problem of the surplus and the tariff

Cleveland's message to Congress, 1887

"A condition, not a theory"

A demand for revision of tariff laws

The Mills Bill

Acceptance by the House

Delay in the Senate

The issue in the election of 1888

Social unrest

Volume 44, Chapter VII

The Knights of Labor and violence

Railroad strikes, 1886

The Haymarket Riot, 1886

Measures of the Cleveland administration

Congressional investigation

Presidential proposals

Senatorial obstruction

The Department of Labor

The Socialist movement

The foreign element

The taint of anarchy

The Haymarket affair

The recoil of organized labor

The American Federation of Labor

The reformer, Henry George

Labor candidate for mayor of New York

The agrarian protest

212 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Cleveland's First Administration—Continued

Hatred of the money power

Demand for an expanded currency

Coinage of silver

The resistance of Cleveland's administration

"Third parties" in the election of 1888

Railroads and the public interest

Compare Volume 38, Chapter XII

The Wabash decision

" " Pages 232-233

The Interstate Commerce Act

Cleveland's approval

The Harrison Interlude

Volume 44, Chapter VIII

The peculiar power of the Republican machine

Control of President, Senate, and House

Czar Reed, Speaker of the House

The Republican method of eliminating a surplus

The "Billion-Dollar Congress"

The pension bill

Corporal Tanner's bounty

Rivers and harbors

Extravagant appropriations

The McKinley Tariff

Protection of American industry

Reduction of the surplus

Blaine and reciprocity

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act

Compulsory competition

Checks upon "Big Business"

The Sherman Silver Act

The coinage of silver bullion

Compare Volume 45, Pages 159-160

The danger of a stampede to free coinage

Party discipline

Democratic opposition

Abandonment of a new "Force Bill"

Compare Volume 42, Page 48

Disfranchisement of the negro completed

Removal of Southern obstruction to the tariff act

The Harrison Interlude—Continued

- Popular revolt against the Republican policy
 - Protection and profiteering
 - The Republican boss of the House, 1890
- Harrisonian complacency
 - Blaine's personal aversion
- The campaign of 1892
 - Harrison or Blaine?
 - The renomination of Harrison
- The Democratic renomination of Cleveland
 - The factious opposition of Hill and New York
 - Cleveland's fearless resistance to free silver
- The People's Party
 - The effect of the Homestead Strike
 - The success of the people's candidate, Cleveland

Cleveland's Second Administration

Volume 44, Chapter IX

- The Panic of 1893
 - The effect of the silver act upon the Treasury
 - The vanishing gold reserve
- The crash in the business world
 - The National Cordage Company
 - The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad
 - Bank failures
 - Distress in the West and South
- Cleveland's demand for repeal of the silver act
 - Persistent office seekers
 - Cleveland's illness
 - Cleveland's pressure upon Congress
 - The repeal
- The dilemma of the Treasury
 - The endless chain
 - The gold reserve
 - Cleveland's arrangement with Morgan
 - Complicating foreign affairs
 - The British-Venezuelan dispute
 - The insistence of Cleveland
 - The Monroe Doctrine
 - Cleveland's failure to meet the popular grievance

214 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Cleveland's Second Administration—Continued

An inadequate currency supply

Tariff reform

Volume 44, Chapter X

The Wilson bill

The Senate and the interests

Quay's methods of obstruction

Gorman's compromise

Cleveland's disgust

An investigation

Havemeyer and the Sugar Trust

The grievances of working men

The armies of Kelly, Frye, and Coxey

The Pullman strike

Debs and injunctions

Cleveland and the United States mails

Governor Altgeld and states rights

Fellow Democrats with Cleveland

Senator Hill of New York

Appointments to the Supreme Court

Congressman Bryan

Attacks upon Cleveland

The fate of the income tax

A provision of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff

The adverse decision of the Supreme Court

Free Silver and Populism

Successors of the Greenback and Granger movements

Volume 45, Chapter IX

The union of labor parties and farmers' alliances

The contest of sections

South and West against North and East

Agriculture versus manufacturing

Common man versus capitalist

Dissatisfaction with the Silver Act of 1890

The demand for "free silver"

Hardships of the debtor class

The appearance of People's Parties

The congressional elections

Remonstrance against the Republican tariff

Free Silver and Populism—Continued

Mrs. Lease and "Sockless Jerry" Simpson

The wrath of Kansas farmers

Populists sent to Congress

The union of parties of discontent

The trial of strength in 1892

Volume 45, Chapter X

The candidacy of J. B. Weaver

The platform: Grievances of the common man

Inroads upon the older parties

A million ballots

Twenty-two electoral votes

The check of the panic of '93

Volume 44, Chapter IX

Volume 45, Page 104

The repeal of the Silver Act

Distress in the South and West

The returning tide of Populism

Volume 45, Chapter XI

The silver issue

Origins

The "Ohio Idea," of 1868

The "Crime of '73"

The Bland-Allison Act of 1878

The theory of bimetallism

International negotiations

Mining interests

Interplay with the needs of the debtor West

Sherman Act of 1890

The union of Free Silver and Populism

The struggle with Republicanism in Kansas, 1893

Uncertainties in the congressional elections of 1894

An increased popular vote

Losses in Western states

The failure of fusion

The approach of '96

The presidential year

Negotiations with Republicans and Democrats

Cleveland's stamp upon Democracy

Volume 44, Pages 118-120

The split

Republican leanings toward Cleveland's position

216 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Election of 1896

Volume 45, Chapter XII

Compare Volume 44, Pages 218-220

Hanna and Republican maneuvers

The safe candidate, McKinley

The tariff, the "full dinner pail," and then the gold standard

The bolt of silver Republicans

Bryan, both Democrat and Populist

Tillman's condemnation of Cleveland

Bryan's address to the Democratic convention

His nomination endorsed by Populists

The campaign

McKinley's speeches from the "front porch"

Bryan's tours

The success of McKinley

The death of Populism

Its bequest to the Twentieth Century

Volume 45, Chapter XIII

Progressivism

Farm blocs

The Non-partisan League

McKinley as President

The power of Hanna and Reed

The Dingley Tariff, 1897

Protection in full bloom

The Gold Standard Act, 1900

CHAPTER XIX

THE PUBLIC INTEREST PARAMOUNT

IN the first decade of the Twentieth Century, the sectional movements which had agitated American politics since the Civil War merged into a nationwide demand that the public interest be served and that the particular desires of individuals, classes, or sections be subordinated to the welfare of the whole. America had achieved an economic and social integration never known before. Business and politics had drawn together in close alliance. Party machines had concentrated political power. Nevertheless, the movements of protest did not die; they came to fruition. The remonstrances of farmers and laborers which had created the Populist party grew into the wider Progressive movement. Roosevelt sensed the trend of public opinion and brought his administration into harmony with it. He undertook to regulate "Big Business" and gave a vitality to

the Sherman Anti-Trust Law that few had believed possible. He took the same strong middle ground in his management of labor. Reclamation of waste lands and conservation of national resources were obviously for the benefit of all and an obligation of the present to future generations.

Roosevelt's successor continued to maintain the public interest as superior to all others, but Taft, like Cleveland before him, was harassed by strife within his party. The contest between the Congressional insurgents and conservative Republicans became bitter with the overthrow of Speaker Cannon's rule over the House of Representatives. Both sides prepared to fight for control of the party convention in 1912. The conservatives won. Progressives bolted the party, and the Democrats had their opportunity. Wilson, nominated because of his liberal tendencies, was elected.

During the first two years of Wilson's administration a spirit of liberalism prevailed. The movement of protest bore fruit in a series of reform laws that had never been equalled in the history of the nation. The World War deflected public attention to foreign affairs, but the American people followed their President with extraordinary unanimity into war, enlarging their devotion to the

public interest into determination to "make the world safe for democracy." The movement for reform in America grew into a movement for international reform. Then came the Armistice, the Treaty of Versailles, the quarrel between the President and the Senate, bitterness and disillusionment. The significance of all that has happened, only the future can make clear.

The Figure of Roosevelt

Early years	Volume 47, Chapter I
Harvard and Dakota	
Politics as a career	II
Tenements and cigar-makers	
A regular Republican	
His support of Blaine	
Public service	III
Candidate for Mayor of New York	
Civil Service Commissioner	
President Harrison's Cabinet	
Police Commissioner of New York	IV
Assistant Secretary of the Navy	XV
Colonel of Rough Riders	
Governor of New York	V
Platt's machine	
The independence of Roosevelt	
The Presidency	VI
The election of 1900	
A sidetrack for the Governor of New York	
	Volume 47, Chapter IV
McKinley's running mate	
Imperialism and Free Silver	
Bryan's campaign	
The assassination of McKinley	

220 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

The Figure of Roosevelt—Continued

Roosevelt's effort to continue McKinley's policy

His break with machine-politicians

The Regulation of Big Business

Volume 47, Chapter VII

Roosevelt's middle ground

Application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law

Dissolution of the Northern Securities Company

Compare Volume 39, Chapter VI

Volume 38, Chapter VII

Prosecution of the Standard Oil and American

Tobacco Companies

Creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor

The Bureau of Corporations

The Hepburn Railroad Rate Law of 1906

Volume 38, Pages 234-236

Rate-making

Determination of maximum rates by the Interstate
Commerce Commission

Extension of the jurisdiction of the Commission

The ban upon the rebate

Federal prosecutions

The Standard Oil case

Judge Landis' fine

The panic of 1907

Compare Volume 41, Chapter VIII

The case of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company

Roosevelt's action

Services of the Steel Corporation

Pure Food and Meat Inspection Laws, 1906

Effects upon business

Safeguards to public interest

Labor: Conservative and Radical

Volume 47, Chapter VIII

Trade unions and collective bargaining

The Anthracite Coal Strike, 1902

Compare Volume 40, Pages 129-130

Roosevelt and arbitration

The eight-hour day and compensation laws

The open-shop

THE PUBLIC INTEREST PARAMOUNT 221

Labor: Conservative and Radical—Continued

Roosevelt and Gompers

The I. W. W.

Compare Volume 40, Chapter IX

The bombing episode in Idaho, 1905

Roosevelt's opinion of Haywood

The National Resources

Volume 47, Chapter IX

Reclamation and Conservation

The Newlands Act of 1902

Irrigation of arid western lands

Shoshone and Roosevelt Dams

Forest reserves

The work of Pinchot

The National Forest Act, 1905

Regulated cutting

The resistance of land grabbers

The Inland Waterways Commission

The conference at the White House, 1908

The National Conservation Commission

Taft's Administration

Volume 47, Chapter XII

Preparation for the presidency

Substantial achievements

Amendments to the Constitution

The income tax

Direct election of Senators

The admission of New Mexico and Arizona

The parcels post and postal savings banks

Publicity for campaign contributions

Extension of the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission

Establishment of the Commerce Court

The Mann-Elkins Act

Dissolution of the Standard Oil and American

Tobacco Companies

Compare Volume 41, Pages 152-153

Volume 39, Pages 53-54

Tariff fights

Taft's view of protection

222 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Taft's Administration—Continued

- The Payne-Aldrich Law, 1909
- The remonstrance of the Middle West
- Insurgent Republicans
- Taft's speech at Winona
- Reciprocity with Canada Volume 46, Page 246
- Taft's success in Congress
- Rejection by Canada Volume 49, Pages 239-252
- National patriotism in Canada
- Rebuff for "Manifest Destiny"
- The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy Volume 47, Chapter XII

Progressivism

- The Insurgents in Congress, 1910
- The revolt against Speaker Cannon
- Congressional elections, 1910
- The effect of a Democratic House
- The return of Roosevelt from Africa
- Resumption of party leadership
- His speech at Ossawatimie, Kansas
- "The New Nationalism"
- His crusade against the New York machine
- The campaign for Stimson
- Governor of New York
- Defeat
- The national campaign of 1912 Volume 47, Chapter XIII
- The demand for "Direct Democracy"
- Initiative, referendum, and recall
- Direct primaries
- Popular election of Senators
- Woman suffrage
- The steam-roller at Chicago
- The Republican nomination of Taft
- The bolt of the Progressives
- The candidacy of Roosevelt
- The charge against the Republican convention
- Fraudulent management
- The religious atmosphere of the Progressive convention

THE PUBLIC INTEREST PARAMOUNT 223

Progressivism—Continued

“Onward Christian Soldiers”

Roosevelt’s “Confession of Faith”

The platform

The opportunity of the Democratic party

Volume 47, Chapter XIV

Wilson, representative of progressive Democracy

Election to the Presidency

The passing of the Progressive party

The refusal of Roosevelt to lead in 1916

The choice of Hughes

The union of Progressive Republicans with the
Old Guard

Its stamp upon the Republican party

Wilson’s Administration

Previous career

Volume 48, Chapter I

Democratic legislation

The Underwood Tariff, 1913

The Federal Reserve Banking System, 1913

The Federal Trade Commission, 1914

The Clayton Anti-Trust Act, 1914 Volume 41, Pages 153–154

Volume 40, Pages 99–100

Volume 48, Page 90

The Philippines Government Act, 1916

Volume 46, Pages 216–217

The Farm Loan Act, 1916

Volume 42, Pages 84–85

The Child Labor Law, 1916

Compare Volume 40, Pages 249–250

The Adamson Law, 1916

Volume 40, Pages 163–166

Volume 41, Pages 236–238

Liberalism in the Supreme Court

The appointment of Brandeis

CHAPTER XX

THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER

THE end of the War of 1812 was a definite turning point for the American people. Before the Treaty of Ghent they had been much concerned with the affairs of Europe. They had won their independence from the British Empire, but for seventeen years after the Peace of 1783 they were bound to France by the alliance with which they had secured French assistance in the Revolution. As President, Washington chose to hold the United States from participation in the cause of Revolutionary France. The French Alliance was eventually thrown off with the consent of Napoleon, but not until American opinion had been divided and American political parties separated on the issue of foreign sympathies. Finally, the United States was drawn into the European wars that raged about Napoleon. It emerged from its second contest with Great Britain with a fighting record

that was not entirely glorious, but with its territory intact and its economic as well as its political independence assured. After 1815 Americans gave little heed to Europe and concentrated their energies upon building a great nation in a rich continent. The world was formally notified of their intention to guard the western world against further European encroachment and to keep out of European affairs. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 set up the standard of American isolation.

For three-quarters of a century the citizens of the United States were engrossed in their own national affairs. Expansion to the Pacific, war to preserve the Union, and creation of an industrial civilization in turn demanded the complete attention and the best energy of a vigorous and growing people. Foreign affairs, usually contingent upon national growth, crowded occasionally into the minds of the voters, but it was not until the war with Spain in 1898 that the average citizen ever thought of America in terms of its world relationships or pondered the problems that grow out of membership in the society of nations. Yet before this contest, incidents had occurred which pointed to the later development.

In the Fifties an American naval commander

had opened the ports of Japan. Twenty years after, the United States had taken an interest in the natives of the South Sea Islands and established a claim to the harbor of Pago Pago in Samoa. By the Nineties, American missionary and commercial enterprise in Hawaii had so matured that the foreigners were able to throw off native rule. In the same years, President Cleveland had insisted that the United States must participate in the settlement of a boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. When he was rebuffed, he offered the alternative of war. To an astonished world, the Monroe Doctrine, sometimes forgotten by Americans themselves in the press of domestic affairs, was reasserted with a vigor that made it the basic determinant in relationships of the western hemisphere. Then came the war with Spain.

The result for the United States of a hundred days of fighting was a chain of possessions reaching from Porto Rico to the Philippines. The United States gradually became conscious of the strategic value of Hawaii, annexed in 1898, as a naval base for the protection of the new imperial domain. A large group of American citizens believed that the acquisitions should not be retained for they held

that imperialism is incompatible with democracy. But the imperialists won the election of 1900. To Roosevelt fell the task of consolidating the empire and planning for its defence. He promptly advocated and secured a stronger navy and made possible the construction and control of the Panama canal, now for the United States more than ever a strategic necessity. Whether or not some Americans decried the trend of the times, the United States had become possessed of an empire. It was in fact a world power with positive interests beyond its own territorial confines. Rising from the new situation were three developments: the American policy in the Caribbean Sea, the peculiar concern of the United States in Asiatic affairs, and the relationship of the United States to world peace conferences at The Hague.

After the United States had acquired possessions in the Caribbean, other states in that region must so order their relations with foreign powers that none would have excuse to land soldiers for the protection of national interests. European or Asiatic troops in the West Indies or Central America might result in the establishment of a base near the Panama canal and jeopardize the whole American plan of defence. This new inter-

pretation of the Monroe Doctrine made the United States policeman of the Caribbean. Pan-Americanism, which had been the professed aim of the United States for relations within the western hemisphere, lost some of its force as a result of distrust. Many Hispanic-Americans saw in it all only Yankee determination to dominate the western continents.

At the opening of the Twentieth Century, China seemed to be on the verge of dissolution and the nations of the world hovering over it like a flock of vultures. American people had long been interested in the work of their Christian missionaries to China. With the acquisition of the Philippines, the American government also perceived that it had an interest in the welfare of the Celestial Empire. Between the rival powers of Europe, the United States interposed the policy of the "open door" backed by American cooperation in the international expeditionary force to punish offenders in the Boxer uprising. China was not dismembered. An accord has grown between the governments at Washington and Peking.

The third development in American relations with the world was the American acceptance of a

place in the peace conferences at The Hague. The United States became a party to many international commitments to the cause of peaceful co-operation among the peoples of the world. It was obvious to careful observers that the traditional American policy of isolation had been modified materially by the Caribbean and Asiatic policies and by the presence of American representatives at The Hague.

The glare of the European conflagration in 1914 sharply outlined the transformation in the situation of the United States. After Germany invaded Belgium, two years and a half elapsed before the American people realized that civilization was at stake. Germany's use of submarine warfare roused the United States to feel that its own interests were vitally threatened. Then, with an idealism and unity of purpose never surpassed in any of its other wars, America threw itself into a struggle for international reform. The threat of German militarism was destroyed. When the conflict was over, however, the old American instinct of isolation reasserted itself. The United States sent a chill of fear to the hearts of many European liberals by turning its back on the League of Nations. Had the "war to end war"

been fought in vain? But the American people can no longer think of isolation in terms of the Nineteenth Century. The United States has interests and commitments over the world, and Americans cannot, if they would, refuse to think in terms of world relationships. The past history of America has been the story of development of national strength surpassing any in the world. The history of the future will be the chronicle of the use of that strength for good or evil on the earth.

The Beginning of a Peculiar Interest in Central and South America

Basic principles Volume 46, Chapter I

The Monroe Doctrine

The Panama Congress

The failure of an early Pan-American policy

Projects for an Isthmian canal Volume 46, Pages 26-31

Arrangements with Colombia, 1846

Arrangements with Mexico, 1853

British interests in Honduras

The Mosquito coast

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1850

Blaine's conception of Pan-Americanism

Volume 46, Chapter IV

American mediation in South American disputes

France and Venezuela

The French canal company at Panama

Blaine's effort to annul the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

The Pan-American congress, 1889

Reciprocity

The Bureau of American Republics

THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER 231

Growing American Interests in the Pacific Volume 46, Chapter III

The purchase of Alaska, 1867

Seward's negotiations with Russia

The wave of gratitude

The fiction of the Russian fleet

Commodore Perry and Japan, 1853 " " V

The introduction of Japan to international society

American participation in the affairs of Samoa, 1872

The treaty of 1878

English, German, and American ships of war

The hurricane of 1889

International control in Samoa

Hawaii

Native kings

Foreign inhabitants

American missionaries

The policy of the United States

Webster's extension of the Monroe Doctrine, 1842

Marcy's negotiations, 1853

Blaine's invitation to the Pan-American Congress,
1889

The revolution of 1893

American "protection"

The request for annexation

Cleveland's reversal of Harrison's policy

Annexation to the United States, 1898 Volume 46, Page 200

Problems of the United States and Canada

The Caroline affair Volume 46, Chapter II

The boasts of McLeod Compare Volume 49, Pages 91-92

American designs on Canada

The Webster-Ashburton treaty, 1842

The boundaries of Maine and Nova Scotia

Compare Volume 49, Pages 116-121

Sumner's demand for Canada, 1868 Volume 46, Pages 33-38

The Treaty of Washington, 1871

Compare Volume 49, Pages 121, 180

The dispute over the San Juan islands

The award of the Emperor of Germany

Problems of the United States and Canada—Continued

Volume 46, Pages 46-53

The seal herds

The American demand for a closed sea

Canadian interests

Vancouver

Blaine's bluster

Arbitration

The award to British interests

Fisheries

Volume 46, Pages 243-248

Commissions Compare Volume 49, Pages 159-161, 179-181.

237-238

Newfoundland

Compare Volume 47, Pages 151-154

The Hague decision, 1909

Controversies of the Twentieth Century

The Alaskan boundary Compare Volume 49, Pages 232-236

The demise of "annexation"

Volume 49, Pages 106-111, 178-183

Reciprocity

The refusal of Canada, 1911

Compare Volume 49, Pages 121-125, 158-159.

184-185, 242-252

American Defiance of Great Britain

Volume 46, Chapter VI

Cleveland's view of the Monroe Doctrine

The boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great

Britain

Compare Volume 50, Pages 188-189

Oluey's despatch

Compare Volume 49, Pages 187-229

Compulsory arbitration

The award in favor of Great Britain

War with Spain

Volume 46, Chapter VII

Cuba, thorn in the flesh of Spain and the United States

Spanish rule

Native revolts

American meddling

Aspirations of the South prior to the Civil War

Later filibusterers

THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER 233

War with Spain—Continued

The Virginius affair	Volume 46, Page 119n.
Weyler's "reconcentrado" camps	
American protests	
The power of the American press	
McKinley's Cuban policy	
Cuban freedom	
Spanish friendship	
The liberal government of Sagasta	
The wrath of the American people	
DeLome's stupidity	
The destruction of the <i>Maine</i>	
The reluctance of McKinley to fight	
Spanish efforts for peace	
Declaration of war by Congress	
Military and naval exploits	
Dewey at Manila Bay	Volume 46, Chapter VIII
Victory in battle	
His precarious situation	
The blockade of the city	
Approaching Spanish relief	
Actions of the German fleet	
Opinions of the Kaiser	
British onlookers	
The Cuban campaign	“ “ IX
The American blockading fleet	
The voyage of the <i>Oregon</i>	
Cervera's fighting fleet	
The terror in American shore resorts	
His arrival in Santiago	
Preparation of an American expeditionary force	Volume 46, Chapter X
Hit or miss methods	
Woolens for tropical marches	
Embalmed beef	
The Rough Riders	
The troops in action	“ “ XI
Las Guasimas	
El Caney and San Juan Hill	

234 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

War with Spain—Continued

- Cervera's flight
- The destruction of his fleet
- Lessons for the American people
- Alger's failure
- The controversy between Sampson and Schley
- The end Volume 46, Chapter XII
- The American naval demonstration against Spain
- The recall of Camara from his voyage against Dewey
- The American army in Porto Rico
- The capture of Manila
- Dewey's bombardment
- The assault of the American army
- The terms of peace
- Independence for Cuba
- American retention of the Philippines

The Birth of an American Empire Volume 46, Chapter XIII

- The possessions
- The annexation of Hawaii
- A new arrangement in Samoa
- The Philippines and the Pacific Islands
- A protectorate over Cuba
- The provisional government of General Wood
- The Platt Amendment
- Porto Rico, an unincorporated territory
- Problems of imperialism
- War with the Filipinos
- The patriot Aguinaldo
- The exploits of Funston
- The American reaction against imperialism
- The campaign of Bryan in 1900
- Forms of government
- The Schurman commission
- The Taft commission
- Civil government under Taft
- A native legislature
- The policy of Wilson

THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER 235

China, The United States, and Japan

Chinese immigration Compare Volume 35, Chapter IX

European friends by the sick-bed of China

Volume 46, Chapter XIV

The Kaiser's concern

Russian advances

British self-protection

French participation

The American attitude

Hay's policy of "The Open Door"

British support

Russian evasion

Chinese resistance

The Boxer uprising

The international expedition

Punishment of China

American insistence upon Chinese integrity

The Russo-Japanese war

American insistence upon recognition of Chinese
neutrality

American participation in the peace negotiations

The Treaty of Portsmouth

Compare Volume 47, Pages 171-174

Issues between the United States and Japan

The integrity of China Volume 46, Chapter XIV

Japanese immigration into American territories

Compare Volume 47, Pages 157-163

Compare Volume 35, Pages 203-207

The Root-Takahira agreement

Conflicting state laws

The actions of California

The dollar diplomacy of Knox

Wilson's policy

Readjustments

The Treaty, 1911

The California land act, 1913

The Chinese revolution

The Japanese seizure of Kiao-Chau, 1914

The "Twenty-one Demands," 1915

236 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

China, The United States, and Japan—Continued

- The Ishii mission, 1917
- The Peace Conference, 1919
- The Washington Conference, 1921
- The renewal of the "gentlemen's agreement,"
1923
- The American Immigration law, 1924
- Exclusion of Japanese

Roosevelt and the Monroe Doctrine—The Caribbean Policy

Volume 47, Chapters X, XI

Volume 46, Chapters XV, XVI

Venezuelan repudiation of debts

Compare Volume 50, Pages 190-194

The pacific blockade

Germany, Italy, and Great Britain

German intentions

Roosevelt's threat

The German request for American arbitration

The Drago doctrine

The remonstrance of South America

The response of Roosevelt

An international police power

The Debts of San Domingo.

Compare Volume 50,

Pages 108-111, 164-165, 223-225,

234-235

The inability of its government

American administration and adjustment

Responsibility to European creditors

The model for management of Nicaragua and

Hayti

Colombia and the Panama Canal

American negotiations with Great Britain

The obstacle of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

Hay's solution

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaties

Controversies about routes

Nicaragua versus Panama

The rights of De Lesseps

THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER 237

Roosevelt and the Monroe Doctrine—Continued

Hay's negotiations with Colombia

The Hay-Herran Treaty

Rejection by Colombia

The action of Roosevelt

Compare Volume 50, Pages 185-187

"Various revolutionary movements"

The proper selection of one

The rôle of Bunau-Varilla

The prompt arrival of the American fleet

Immediate recognition of the Republic of Panama

The Canal Treaty

Pan-Americanism and the Mexican Imbrolio

Volume 46, Pages 271-277

Hispanic American restiveness under the leadership of
the United States

Compare Volume 50, Chapters X, XI, XII

Desires of the "A B C" powers

Argentine, Brazil, Chile

Suspensions of American friendship

Futile Pan-American Congresses

American relations with Mexico

The conference of Taft and Diaz, 1910

Madero's revolution

The uprising of Huerta

The counter-revolt of Carranza

Wilson's refusal to recognize Huerta

Volume 48, Pages 86-89

The landing at Vera Cruz

The flight of Huerta

Mediation by the "A B C" powers

American recognition of Carranza

Villa's attack upon the United States

Pershing's punitive expedition

The protests of Carranza

The affair at Carrizal

Wilson's refusal to chastise Mexico

The eve of the war with Germany

238 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

International Relationships Prior to the World War

The Algeciras Conference, 1905 Volume 47, Pages 175-176

The participation of the United States

Volume 48, Page 34

American influence on the side of France

Discomfiture of Germany

The Hague Tribunal

Volume 46, Chapter XVII

General arbitration treaties

Root and Bryan

International agreements

America and the European Conflict

The American President

Volume 48, Chapter I

The personality of Wilson

The rights of neutrals

The American tradition of isolation

Indifference and peace

The effect of the outbreak of war in Europe

Divided American opinion

Initial uncertainties

Roosevelt's opinion in September, 1914

Compare Volume 47, Chapter XVI

Wilson's pacifist inclinations

The possibility of mediation

American commerce in jeopardy

British search and seizure

The munitions trade

German danger zones

The submarine

Volume 48, Chapter III

The destruction of American lives and property

The *Lusitania*

Wilsonian delay

The battle of notes with Germany

Wilson's success

The *Sussex* pledge

The slow awakening of America

Armed merchantmen

Bryan's position

The wave of materialism

THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER 239

America and the European Conflict—Continued

War millionaires

The craze for luxury

The personal element

Dislike of Wilson

Western pacifism

The German campaign in America Volume 48, Chapter IV

Propaganda

The German-American press

Pacifist Societies

Ford's "Peace Ship"

Secret intrigue

The activities of von Papen and Boy-Ed

Bernstorff and Albert

Plots, explosions, and strikes

The effect upon American convictions

Anger toward Germany

Growing demand for preparedness

The National Security League

General Wood and the Plattsburg idea

The conversion of Wilson

The speech-making tour in pro-German and
pacifist centers

American military unreadiness revealed

The Mexican imbroglio

Pershing's ride into Mexico

The escape of Villa

The election of 1916

The unpopularity of Wilson

His domestic policy

His pacifism in foreign affairs

The candidacy of Hughes

A campaign of criticism

The pivot state, California

Republican campaign blunders

Slights to Progressives

War with Germany

Volume 48, Chapter V

The decision to fight

War with Germany—Continued

The resolution of Wilson

The call to fight for the rights of mankind

Vague German overtures, December 12, 1916

Wilson's peace note of December 18

The purposes of the belligerents

A League of Nations

"Peace without victory," January 22, 1917

Germany's withdrawal of the *Sussex* pledge, January 31, 1917

The break between Germany and America, February 3, 1917

Unrestricted submarine warfare

American obstructionists

The twelve "wilful men"

The declaration of war, April 6, 1917

Preparation for battle Volume 48, Chapter VI

The American General Staff

The Selective Service Act

American soldiers for European battlefields

The desire of Roosevelt

Compare Volume 47, Pages 265-270

General Pershing's expedition

Equipment and munitions

Necessary provisions for the future

Immediate needs met by the Allies

Machine guns, rifles, and airplanes

The expansion of the Navy

Destroyers and transports

Inevitable governmental centralization

The Overman Act

The ordeal of battle

The home front Volume 48, Chapter VII

The Council for National Defence

The War Industries Board

The Food Administration

Fuel conservation

Railroad administration

The Emergency Fleet Corporation

THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER 241

War with Germany—Continued

The War Trade Board

The War Labor Board

The Labor Policies Board

Liberty Loan drives

The Committee on Public Information

Wall Street and war

Volume 41, Chapter IX

Morgan, Ryan, and Schwab

The fighting front

Volume 48, Chapter VIII

The part of the Navy

Convoys for troopships

Prowlers on submarine trails

The battle fleet in the North Sea

The mine barrage off Scotland

Doughboys in France

The Service of Supply

Amalgamation with Allied divisions

Seicheprey

Cantigny

Château-Thierry

Belleau Wood

Soissons to the Vesle river

An American drive

The St. Mihiel Salient

The moral influence of the American victory

The Americans in the Argonne

Sedan, the key to the German position in France

Destruction of the German lines of defense

The German plea for a truce

The Armistice, November 11, 1918

The Peace Conference

Post-armistice problems

Volume 48, Chapter IX

Wilsonian justice

The distinction between German people and government

Application of the Fourteen Points

Concern for small nations

The principle of self-restraint

The Peace Conference—Continued

Recalcitrant partisans

The opposition of Wilson's fellow Americans

The Wilsonian peace commission

Wilson in person to Paris

Roosevelt's outburst

Special pleaders at Paris

Volume 48, Chapter X

Rivals for Wilson's favor

The effect of delay

Experts and diplomats

The influence of American reports

"The Inquiry"

The Conference and executive councils

The Council of Ten

Contrasting personalities

The succession of witnesses and claimants

The delegation of details to special commissions

The League of Nations

Boundaries

Reparations

The "Big Four"

The board of review

Reports of the commissions

The League of Nations

Volume 48, Chapter XI

The menace of national self-interest

The aggression of the victors

The conflicting claims of small nations

The need for justice and reconciliation

The means

An international understanding

The idea of immediate preliminary terms of peace

The lost opportunity

Wilson's victory over Clemenceau

Preference for a league rather than alliances

Tacit understanding with the British

The covenant

Provisions

Council and assembly

Article X

THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER 243

The Peace Conference—Continued

The failure of Wilson's advocacy in America

The effect on Europe

Annexations and indemnities

French aspirations in the Saar valley

The Rhineland

Armies of occupation

Reparations

The blank check

German signatures

The tri-partite alliance

The defence of France against unprovoked attack

The Treaty of Versailles

Volume 48, Chapter XII

The basis, the League of Nations

Allied obligations to Italy

The secret Treaty of London, 1915

The promise of Austrian provinces

American opposition

The rights of Jugo-Slavia

Justice for Austria

Italian desire for Fiume

The resistance of Wilson

The political maneuvers of Orlando

Japanese claims

Racial equality

Inheritance of German leases

Shantung

The American opposition

Withdrawal of resistance

Japanese promises to retire from Shantung

German protests

Economic clauses

Reparations

The Saar and Poland

Wilson's refusal to soften the terms to win German
signatures

German acceptance under pressure

A peace of hatred and distrust

The Treaty of Versailles—Continued

Defiant German delegates

Weaknesses and flaws

Unsatisfied claims

Conflicting interests

Economic mistakes

Territorial disputes

The struggle for ratification by the American Senate

Volume 48, Chapter XIII

Republican opposition

The tradition of American isolation

Personal dislike of Wilson

Reservations and interpretations

Wilsonian temperament

The manner of the schoolmaster

Reliance upon public opinion

His speaking tour

His illness

The failure of co-operation with mild Republicans

British overtures

The published letter of Viscount Grey

Wilsonian insistence upon Article X

The refusal of the Senate to ratify the treaty

The tragedy

Volume 48, Chapter XIV

Wilson's opportunity for international service

Partial success in Europe

Rejection by his own people

CHAPTER XXI

OUR NEIGHBORS

IT is a curious fact that the American people, during most of their history, have been peculiarly ignorant of the affairs of their nearest neighbors. The citizen of the United States has usually been too much engrossed in the problems of his own country to pay much attention to Canada or Hispanic America. It is true that many Americans have hoped that Canada might one day become a part of the Union. They were quick to assume that Canadians of the Nineteenth Century chafed under the British yoke as Americans of the Eighteenth had done. For this reason, they generally misunderstood the rebellion of 1837. During the early years of the Twentieth Century, the American people finally gave up the thought of annexation. The formal end of this phase of "Manifest Destiny" came when Mr. Harding, the first American president to visit Canada,

announced to the citizens of British Columbia that the United States did not look forward to the ultimate incorporation of the Canadian dominion into its own national territory. But with this persistent desire for annexation, Americans have never actively interested themselves in Canadian affairs and are quite ignorant of Canadian history.

Beginning at the time of the American Revolution, a civilization very like that of the United States has developed north of the international boundary. Yet it has significant differences. Nowhere in America can be found a culture similar to that of the French Canadians. English speaking Canadians show a marked British influence. During the century and a half of their history, they have spread their settlements over a vast area stretching from ocean to ocean. With the exception of Newfoundland, they have united their local governments into a closely knit federation. They have developed a national sentiment, not incompatible with loyalty to the British Crown, which has come to definite expression as a result of the World War. The appearance of a Canadian representative at Washington is indicative that the United States must reckon with a new power on the north.

South of the Rio Grande the situation is very different. Spain and Portugal, in one instance, have left their stamp on Central and South America. In most cases, the native Indians were not driven off, as in the English settlements to the north, but were held as a subject race. Latin-American populations, consequently, show a three-fold character: a small group descended from pure European stock, a larger number of Indian blood, and those who derive their heritage from both races. By this population a civilization has been built up which contrasts noticeably with the American and which the American citizen has seldom fully understood.

Yet toward its southern neighbors the United States has assumed from the beginning an attitude of particular concern. The Monroe Doctrine declared to the world that the United States considered itself the guardian of its fellow republics against encroachment by foreign powers. Hispanic America enjoyed the protection but never forgot that the self-appointed guardian considered also that its own interests were paramount. In spite of this protection and in spite of a common language and tradition, Spanish America has broken into jagged fragments that have defied the

efforts of its great leaders to bring them together into a confederation. All too frequently the governments of Latin-American states, though republican in form, have been but a succession of military dictators. Out of a century of political confusion four states, Argentine, Chile, Brazil, and Mexico, have risen to predominance and to world importance. Notwithstanding hostile interpretations of American motives, Pan-Americanism is an ideal that seeks for greater co-operation and better understanding not only among the southern republics but between them and the American nation to the north.

The Dominion of Canada

The determination of a separate existence

Volume 49, Chapter I

The Peace of Paris, 1763

British governors and French subjects

Acadia, Quebec, and Hudson's Bay

The attempt to cast the Canadians in an English mold

Adverse opinions of Murray and Carleton

Abandonment of the policy

The effect of the American Revolution

The influx of Loyalists from the Revolutionary states

Participation in Canadian affairs

The tide of democracy

The constitutional act of 1791

The policy of William Grenville

Growing diversities

Discordant religious denominations

The appearances of "late loyalists"

Settlers from the United States

The Dominion of Canada—Continued

Social distinctions

Aristocratic antipathies

Racial division

The increasing political consciousness of the
French inhabitants

Rivalry with the Spanish, Russians, and Americans
for the Pacific Coast

The effect of the War of 1812

A sense of Canadian unity

Resistance to American aggression

The neutrality of the Great Lakes

Self-government and confederation Volume 49, Chapter II

The flood of immigration

Americans

Britishers

Selkirk's Scotchmen

The Red River tragedy

Pioneer life

Farmers and lumber-jacks

The development of transportation

Currency and banking

Social recreations

Education

The American textbook

The constitutional struggle

The problem: reconciliation of democracy and
empire

The changing British conception of empire

The struggle in upper Canada

The Family Compact

A backwoods aristocracy

Church and King

The motley opposition: the "Reformers"

Methodists and Presbyterians

Lands reserved for Anglican enjoyment

The disabilities of immigrants

The fight for responsible government

The conflict in Lower Canada

The Dominion of Canada—Continued

- The controlling clique
 - The opposition
 - The French majority
 - The question of reuniting the Canadas
 - Creation of an English majority in the united province
 - The rebellion of 1837
 - Border warfare
 - American participation
 - Failure
 - Lord Durham's investigation
 - The famous *Report*
 - The doom of the old order
 - The experiment of responsible government
- Volume 49, Chapter III
- The union of Canada, 1841
 - Futile resistance by the governors to responsible party government
 - The alliance of the Reformers and the French
 - Lord Elgin's concession
 - Reaction of the commercial classes against the British concessions to the French and Reformers
 - The meaning of free-trade for them
 - Disadvantage in American markets
 - Bankruptcy
 - Talk of annexation to the United States
 - Dispelled by the Reciprocity Treaty
 - The constitutional struggle in the eastern provinces
 - The oligarchies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick
 - Privileges of the Anglican church
 - The land question in Prince Edward Island
 - Victories for responsible government
 - Relations with the United States
 - Rivalry in railroad building
 - Closer relations
 - Boundary settlements
 - Trade: products of farm, forest, mine, and fishery
 - Negotiations for reciprocity

The Dominion of Canada—Continued

The treaty of 1855

The attitude of Canada during the American Civil War

Sympathies with the North

Angry bickering as a result of British recognition of the South

The possibility of Canada becoming a battlefield

Revival of preference for the Northern cause

The Emancipation Proclamation

Abrogation of the reciprocity treaty, 1865

American connivance in the Fenian raids of 1866 and 1870

Confederation

Impelling factors

Common dangers from American aggression

A growing British desire for consolidation

The pressure of partisan deadlocks

The leadership of Macdonald

The program of Liberalism

Municipal government

Popular education

Separation of church and state

The lesson of the strife between Canada West and East

Possibility of relegating local affairs to local legislatures

The coalition cabinet of Canada, 1864

The negotiations of 1864

The series of banquets

Sixteen working days at Quebec

Delegates from Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland

The terms of union

The storm of opposition in the provinces by the sea

The refusal of Newfoundland

The British North America Act

The Dominion of Canada—Continued

The Dominion of Canada, 1867

Expansion from sea to sea

Obstacles on the way to nationhood

Volume 49, Chapter IV

The machinery of government

The capital at Ottawa

Provincial governments in Ontario and Quebec

The need of an opposition

The inclusion of Prince Edward Island

Absentee landlords

Railroads

The retention of Nova Scotia

Local interests

The lack of communications

The need of railroads

The Intercolonial Railway

Halifax to the Detroit River

The settlement of the western territory

Purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company

Objections of the inhabitants

Riel's Rebellion in the Red River Valley,
1867

The march to the Pacific

Trading posts

Vancouver

British Columbia, 1866

The bargain with Canada

Completion of the transcontinental rail-
road

Entrance into the Confederation, 1871

Recurrent troubles with the United States

The fisheries problem

Trading privileges

The protectionist feeling of the United States

The overturn of ministries

The break up of the coalition

MacKenzie and the Liberals

The disgrace of Macdonald

The Dominion of Canada—Continued

The Pacific Scandal

The Liberal ministry of MacKenzie, 1873

The depression of 1873

The return to power of Macdonald, 1878

The popularity of protection

Retaliation against the United States

Work upon the Pacific Railroad

The contract with the J. J. Hill interests

Constitutional struggles

Provincial rights

Racial feuds

The second Riel Rebellion in Saskatchewan,
1885

The execution of Riel

The bitterness of his fellow French Cana-
dians

The hatreds of Orangemen and Catholics

Four alternatives to nationhood

Annexation to the United States

The agitation of 1889

Commercial union with the United States

Unrestricted trade

Renewed discussion of reciprocity

A return to "imperial federation"

Closer connection with Great Britain

Preferential trade and protection

Alliance with Great Britain

Equality in the Empire

A partnership between colony and mother
countryThe way toward a British Commonwealth
of NationsCommercial stagnation and political distraction
in the nineties

Problems of the Twentieth Century Volume 49, Chapter V

The Liberal ministry of Laurier

Religion and Manitoba schools

Immigration

The Dominion of Canada—Continued

- The work of Sifton
- Settlers from Great Britain and the United States
- Peoples from eastern and southern Europe
- Land and railway policies
- Free homesteads
- New transcontinentals
- Laurier and imperial co-operation
 - The Diamond Jubilee
 - The Colonial Conference
- Participation in the Boer War
- Imperial Conferences
 - Laurier, Chamberlain, and Churchill
 - Tariffs, preferences, and imperial defense
 - The principle of Home Rule
- The question of a Canadian Navy
- The election of Borden
- Relations with the United States
 - The Venezuelan affair
 - The Spanish-American war
 - The Joint High Commission, 1898
 - Bonding privileges at the border
 - Alien labor laws
 - The neutrality of the Great Lakes
 - Reciprocity suggested
 - The Alaskan boundary
 - Lord Alverstone's decision
 - The northeastern fisheries question
 - The decision by the Hague Court, 1909
 - The Boundary Waters Treaty
 - Permanent Joint High Commission
 - Individual hearings directly before the Commission
- Protection versus reciprocity
 - Taft's overtures to Canada
 - The Albany conference
 - Taft's reciprocity proposals
 - Rejected by Canada

The Dominion of Canada—Continued

European relations

Tariff agreements with France, Belgium,
Netherlands, Italy

A trade war with Germany

A truce in 1910

Contacts with the Orient

Chinese and Hindu immigration

The World War

Canadian support of the mother country

An army of volunteers

The Military Service Act, 1917

The opposition of Quebec to conscription

The home front

Industry and finance

The Imperial Conference of 1917

Meetings of the War Cabinet

The equality of the Dominions in a British
Commonwealth of Nations

Participation in the League of Nations

Hispanic America

The stamp of Spain and Portugal Volume 50, Chapter I

The fusion of races: Spaniard, Creole, Indian

The dominance of the Europeans

The absence of a middle class

The planter, ranchman, mine owner

Peonage for the natives

Commerce with Spain and Portugal

The power of the Church

Autocratic government

The instinct for politics

The permeation of revolutionary ideas Volume 50, Chapter II

Effects of the American and French examples

The pioneer work of Miranda

British sympathies

The effect of a Napoleonic ruler in Spain

Opposition in America

The spread of revolt

Hispanic America—Continued

- From La Plata to Mexico
- The House of Braganza in Brazil
- The struggle for independence Volume 50, Chapter III
- Francia in Paraguay
- San Martin in Argentine, Chile, and Peru
- His lieutenants O'Higgins and Cochrane
- Bolivar in Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia
- The retirement of San Martin in favor of Bolivar
- Iturbide in Mexico
- Prince Pedro in Brazil
- Vanishing dreams of confederation Volume 50, Chapter IV
- The failure of Bolivar
- The Panama Congress
- The position of the United States
- Spreading disaffections
- Bolivar's handiwork in ruins
- Discord in the United Provinces of La Plata
- Rivadavia and Argentine
- The birth of Uruguay
- The abdication of O'Higgins in Chile
- The overthrow of Iturbide in Mexico
- Chaos in Central America
- The departure of Pedro from Brazil
- The irony of republicanism Volume 50, Chapter V
- The procession of dictators
- The experience of Buenos Aires
- Despotism in Paraguay
- Theocracy in Ecuador
- The enlightened despotism of Pedro II in Brazil
- Santa Anna as a Mexican Warwick
- The Spanish invasion
- The Texan revolt
- War with the United States
- Foreign encroachments Volume 50, Chapter VI
- Spanish control of San Domingo
- The effect upon Cuba
- French invasion of Mexico
- The radical government of Juarez

Hispanic America—Continued

The French pretext

The rule of Maximilian

The attitude of the United States

French troops withdrawn by Napoleon III

The fate of Maximilian

The emergence of four states

Volume 50, Chapter VII

Mexico under Diaz

The contrast with Central America

Barrios in Guatemala

Brazil under Fonseca

Slavery and republicanism

Argentine

Expansion into Patagonia

Chile

Her neighbors, Peru and Bolivia

Struggles over the nitrate lands

Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela

Nuñez and Blanco

The standing in the eyes of the world Volume 50, Chapter VIII

Pan-American Conferences

The domination of the United States

The Hague Conferences

The difference between 1899 and 1907

The effect of Central American brawls

Zelaya in Nicaragua

Mediation by the United States and Mexico

Cuban struggles for freedom

The Spanish yoke

American assistance

Cuban independence

American direction

A survey of Latin America

Volume 50, Chapter IX

Brazil

The reforms of Salles

Uruguay

Battle and the radicals

Paraguay

The arena of gamecocks

Hispanic America—Continued

Argentine

Wild speculations

Political jealousies

Peace with its neighbors

The understanding with Chile

Chile

The sway of Balmaceda

Civil war

The controversy with Peru

Tacna and Arica

Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador

Dubious boundaries

Colombia

The revolution of Panama

American connivance

The Canal Zone

Venezuela

Castro, international nuisance

Troubles with Great Britain, the United States,
Germany, Holland, Italy, France

The Drago Doctrine

Roosevelt's retort

Mexico

The end of Diaz and peace

The grievances of the Mexican people

The idealism of Madero

Revolution out of hand

The assassination of Madero

Huerta

The new leader Carranza

The interference of the United States

The refusal to recognize Huerta

The embargo on arms

The occupation of Vera Cruz

The mediation of the A B C powers

Failure

The withdrawal of American troops from Vera Cruz

Final recognition of Carranza

Hispanic America—Continued

Pancho Villa, opponent of Carranza

The third party, Zapata

The attack on New Mexico

Pershing's pursuit

Failure

Carranza as President

Volume 50, Chapter XI

Caribbean states

Central American republics

American supervision

Costa Rica

A protectorate over Nicaragua

American direction of Cuba

San Domingo and Hayti

Pan-Americanism

" " Chapter XII

Yankee ambitions

The counterbalance

The "A B C" powers

The purpose: co-operation

The obvious leadership of the United States

Curtailement of the purpose

The effect of the World War

Great solidarity

Persistent differences

The Hispanic inheritance from Spain and Portugal

CHAPTER XXII

CHRONOLOGY

The Period of Discovery

- 1000 Vinland discovered by Leif Ericsson.
- 1275 Marco Polo in China.
- 1486-1487 Dias' voyage to the Cape of Good Hope; Bartholomew Columbus with him.
- 1492 Martin Behaim's Globe.
Columbus' patent (April), first voyage from Palos (August), landfall at Watling Island (October 12), Cuba (October 28), Hayti (December 5).
- 1497 Cabots discover the mainland of North America.
DaGama reaches India from Portugal.
- 1507 On Waldseemüller's suggestion name "America," in honor of Amerigo Vespucci, comes into use.
- 1513 Ponce de Leon's voyage along Florida coast (March-May).
Balboa crosses the Isthmus of Darien and discovers the Pacific.
- 1519 Magellan sails from Spain (September 20).
Cortés enters Mexico (November 8).

- 1521 Ponce de Leon sails to colonize Florida,
and is killed.
Magellan killed in the Philippines.
Cortés captures Tenochtitlán (Mexico
City).
- 1522 Magellan's one remaining ship rounds the
Cape of Good Hope (April), and
arrives at San Lucar (September 7).
- 1523 Verrazano for France sails along coast of
North America.
- 1527 Pizarro reaches the coast of Peru.
- 1528 Narváez in Florida; dies at Galveston
Island; Cabeza de Vaca takes command.
- 1534 Cartier's first voyage.
- 1539-1542 The De Soto expedition across the south-
eastern part of the present United
States.
- 1541 Coronado searches in Kansas for Quivira
(June).
- 1562-1563 John Hawkins's first voyage with slaves
to America; return cargo confiscated in
Spain.
- 1564 René de Laudonnière plants a French
settlement (June).
Fort Caroline on St. John's River,
Florida.
- 1565 Menendez builds a fort at St. Augustine,
Florida (September 6).
French at Fort Caroline massacred by
Menendez (September 19).
- 1566 Spain protests against Hawkins's voy-
ages.
- 1567 DeGourgues massacres the Spanish garri-

- son at St. Mateo avenging the Fort Caroline men.
- 1568 Hawkins fights his way out of the Vera Cruz harbor (September 24).
- 1576 Martin Frobisher sails for Northwest Passage.
- 1577-1580 Francis Drake's voyage around world.
- 1578 Elizabeth's patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
- 1583 Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland; Gilbert lost.
- 1584 Raleigh succeeds to Gilbert's charter.
- 1585 Richard Grenville plants Raleigh's colony at Roanoke.
- 1586 Drake destroys St. Augustine and takes off the Roanoke colony.
- 1587 Raleigh's second Roanoke colony of which no trace found in 1590.
- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada (July 20).
- 1603 Champlain's first voyage up the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga.
- 1604-1605 Champlain and De Monts explore the coast as far south as Cape Cod.

The Period of Colonization

- 1606 Charter of London and Plymouth companies.
- 1607 Settlement of Jamestown.
French colony at Port Royal abandoned.
Establishment of Popham's colony at mouth of the Kennebec.
Zuñiga, Spanish ambassador in London, complains of English settlements.

- 1607-1608 Separatists from Scrooby, England, move to Amsterdam.
- 1608 Quebec settled by Champlain.
- 1609 Henry Hudson enters Delaware Bay and New York harbor and sails up the Hudson River.
- 1612 John Rolfe starts the cultivation of tobacco.
- 1614-1616 John Smith explores and maps New England coast.
- 1620 Charter for the Council of New England. Settlement of Plymouth.
- 1621 Dutch West India Company chartered.
- 1623 First seigneurial grant in New France.
- 1624 Charter of Virginia Company withdrawn.
- 1629 Massachusetts Bay Company charter.
- 1630 Massachusetts Bay colony established. Rensselaerwyck settled.
- 1632 Charter for Maryland granted second Lord Baltimore.
- 1634 Maryland settled at St. Mary's (March 27).
- 1634-1636 Settlement of Connecticut.
- 1635-1636 Roger Williams driven out of Massachusetts and settles Providence.
- 1637 Pequot War.
- 1638 Hartford Fundamental Orders. New Haven colony established.
- 1639 Saybrook settled.
- 1643 New England Confederation or United Colonies of New England established.
- 1649 Charles I beheaded.
- 1660 Restoration of Charles II.

- First Navigation Act, aimed at Dutch carrying trade.
- 1662 Connecticut charter granted.
- 1663 The Carolinas chartered.
Rhode Island Charter granted.
Staple Act — second Navigation Act; imports for colonies must be trans-shipped from England.
- 1664 New York surrendered by Dutch to the English.
New Jersey granted to Berkeley and Carteret by Duke of York.
- 1669-1670 La Salle's expedition to the Ohio.
- 1672 Third Navigation Act: Plantation Duty Act.
- 1673 Joliet and Marquette go down Mississippi from mouth of Wisconsin to mouth of Arkansas.
- 1675-1676 King Philip's War.
- 1676 Bacon's rebellion.
- 1681 Penn gets charter from the Crown for Pennsylvania.
- 1682 La Salle reaches the mouth of the Mississippi.
- 1684 Massachusetts charter forfeited.
- 1686 Andros arrives in Boston as governor general of New England.
- 1688 New York and New Jersey united with Dominion of New England.
The Revolution of 1688 in England.
- 1689 Andros government overthrown in New England.
Leisler's rebellion in New York (June).

- 1689-1697 King William's War.
- 1690 Phips takes Port Royal (May).
Phips before Quebec (October).
- 1692 Salem witchcraft craze.
- 1696 Summarizing Navigation Act.
- 1697 Peace of Ryswick.
- 1701 Detroit founded by Cadillac.
- 1702 The Jerseys united; Crown takes over
jurisdiction.
- 1702-1713 Queen Anne's War (Spanish Succession).
- 1704 Deerfield raided by Indians and French.
- 1710 English and Colonial force from Boston
captures Port Royal, which becomes
Annapolis.
- 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.
- 1718 San Antonio, Texas, founded by Spanish.
New Orleans founded by Bienville.
- 1720 End of Law's Mississippi Bubble.
- 1729 The Carolinas become royal colonies.
- 1732 Georgia granted to Oglethorpe.
- 1733 Molasses Act.
- 1739-1748 King George's War (Austrian Succession).
- 1739-1743 Great Awakening.
- 1745 Louisbourg surrenders after seven weeks'
siege (June 17).
- 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1749 Halifax founded.
First Ohio Company chartered—Vir-
ginians and London merchants.
- 1754 French build Fort Duquesne (April).
Washington defeats Jumonville.
Albany Congress (June); Franklin's *Plan
of Union*.
Battle of Great Meadows (July 3).

266 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

- 1754-1763 French and Indian War.
- 1755 Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela (July 9).
Deportation of Acadians (October-December).
- 1756 Montcalm sent out to command French troops.
Montcalm captures Oswego (August).
- 1757 Pitt becomes Secretary of State for War (June).
Montcalm takes Fort William Henry (August).
- 1758 Montcalm defeats English under Abercromby at Lake George (July).
Louisbourg taken (July).
Fort Duquesne captured (November).
- 1759 Fall of Quebec after three months' siege (September).
- 1760 Montreal surrenders (September 8).
- 1761 James Otis attacks writs of assistance before Massachusetts Supreme Court (February).
Spain enters the war.
- 1762 Louisiana secretly transferred to Spain by France (November 3).
- 1762-1765 Pontiac's conspiracy.
- 1763 Treaty of Paris (February 10).
Grenville becomes premier (April).

The Period of the Revolution

- 1764 Sugar Act.
Colonies forbidden to issue more paper money.

- 1765 Stamp Act (March 22).
 Patrick Henry's Resolutions in Virginia
 (May 30).
 Stamp Act Congress (October).
- 1766 Declaratory Act (March 7).
 Stamp Act repealed (March 18).
- 1767 Townshend Acts, taxing paints, paper,
 glass, tea.
- 1767-1768 Non-importation agreements.
- 1768 Troops in Boston (September).
- 1770 Boston Massacre (March 5).
 Lord North's ministry.
 Withdrawal of Townshend duties except
 on tea (April).
 James Robertson settles in Tennessee at
 Watauga.
- 1771 Regulators defeated at Alamance, North
 Carolina, by Governor Tryon's troops
 (May).
- 1772 *Gaspee* destroyed in Narragansett Bay
 (June 9).
 Samuel Adams and committees of cor-
 respondence.
- 1773 Boston Tea Party (December 16).
- 1774 Coercive Acts (Intolerable Acts).
 Quebec Act for government of Canada.
 First Continental Congress (September 5).
 Settlement of Harrodsburg, Kentucky.
- 1775 Battle of Lexington (April 19).
 Second Continental Congress meets
 (May 10).
 Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17).
 American Invasion of Canada.

- 1776 Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*.
 Evacuation of Boston (March 17).
 Congress adopts the Declaration of Independence (July 4).
 Battle of Long Island (August 27).
 Fall of Fort Washington (November 16).
 Washington's retreat across New Jersey (November 20–December 5).
 Battle of Trenton (December 26).
- 1777 Battle of Princeton (January 3).
 Burgoyne's invasion from Canada.
 Brandywine (September 11).
 Philadelphia taken by British (September 26).
 Battle of Germantown (October 4).
 Burgoyne's surrender (October 17).
- 1777–1778 Winter at Valley Forge.
- 1778 Treaty with France (February 6).
 Crown commission sent to America; tea tax repealed; Declaratory Act repealed; Massachusetts charter restored (February 17).
 Battle of Monmouth (June 28).
 Wyoming Valley Massacre (July).
- 1779 George Rogers Clark takes Vincennes (February).
 Spain joins France against Great Britain (April).
 Paul Jones takes the *Serapis* (September 23).
- 1782 Officers at Newburg petition Congress for pay.
- 1783 Treaty of Peace.

The Critical Period

- 1785 Land Ordinance for survey and sale of public lands.
- 1786 Shays Rebellion (Ends 1787).
Annapolis Convention.
- 1787 Constitutional Convention meets (May 14).
North West Ordinance passed (July 13).
Convention adopts the Constitution (September 17).
- 1788 Ratification of the Constitution.
Separatist movement in the Southwest.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, VIRGINIA, FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1789-1793.

Vice-president — John Adams.

Election of 1788:

Washington	69 Unanimous
Adams	34
Jay	9
Harrison	6
Rutledge	6
Hancock	4
Clinton	2
Milton	2
Armstrong	1
Telfair	1
Lincoln	1

- 1789 Organization of government.
The Judiciary Act.

- Acceptance of Constitution by North Carolina.
- Opening of first American factory.
- 1790 Hamilton's financial measures (completed 1791).
- Acceptance of Constitution by Rhode Island.
- The first census.
- 1791 Vermont admitted to the Union.
- First ten amendments to the Constitution proclaimed in force.
- 1792 Kentucky admitted to the Union.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
1793-1797.

- Vice-president — John Adams.
- Election of 1792:
- | | | |
|------------|-----|-----------|
| Washington | 132 | Unanimous |
| Adams | 77 | |
| Clinton | 50 | |
| Jefferson | 4 | |
| Burr | 1 | |
- 1793 Genet mission.
- Declaration of neutrality.
- Invention of cotton gin.
- Retirement of Jefferson from the cabinet.
- 1794 Battle of Fallen Timbers.
- Whiskey Rebellion.
- 1795 Retirement of Hamilton from the cabinet.
- Treaty of San Lorenzo.
- Jay Treaty.
- 1796 Tennessee admitted to the Union.

Washington's Farewell Address to the Nation.

JOHN ADAMS, MASSACHUSETTS, 1797-1801.

Vice-president — Thomas Jefferson.

Election of 1796:

Adams (Federalist)	71
Jefferson (Democratic-Republican)	68
Pinckney (Federalist)	59
Burr (Democratic-Republican)	30
Adams, S.	15
Ellsworth	11
Clinton	7
Jay	5
Iredell	3
Washington	2
Johnson	2
Henry	2
Pinckney	1

1797	XYZ affair with France.
1798	Naval war with France. Concluded 1800.
	Alien and Sedition Acts.
	Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.
1799	Death of Washington.
	American <i>Constellation</i> takes the French <i>L'Insurgente</i> .
1800	The convention with France.
	Hamilton breaks with Adams.
	Treaty of San Ildefonso.
1801	John Marshall becomes Chief Justice of Supreme Court.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, VIRGINIA, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
1801-1805.

Vice-President — Aaron Burr

Election of 1800:

Jefferson (Democratic-Republican) 73

Burr (Democratic-Republican) 73

Adams (Federalist) 65

Pinckney (Federalist) 64

John Jay 1

1801-1805 War with the Barbary pirates.

1802 Admission of Ohio to the Union.

1803 Marbury versus Madison.

Purchase of Louisiana.

1804 The impeachment of Justice Chase.

The Essex Junto in New England.

Twelfth amendment proclaimed.

Burr kills Hamilton in a duel.

1804-1806 Lewis and Clark expedition.

1805-1806 Pike exploring expedition.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
1805-1809.

Vice-president — George Clinton.

Election of 1804:

Jefferson (Democratic-Republican) 162

Pinckney (Federalist) 14

1805-1807 *Essex* case.

1806-1807 Burr's conspiracy.

1807 Successful test of Fulton's *Clermont* on
Hudson.

- 1806 Fox's blockade (April 8).
 Berlin Decree (November 21).
 Non-importation Act (November 25).
- 1807 First Order in Council (January 7).
Chesapeake-Leopard affair (June 22).
 Second Order in Council (November 1).
 Milan Decree (December 17).
 Embargo (December 21).
- 1808 Slave trade prohibited (Act of 1807).
 Bayonne decree.
- 1809 Repeal of Embargo and passage of Non-intercourse Act.

JAMES MADISON, VIRGINIA, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
 1809-1813.

Vice-president — George Clinton.

Election of 1809:

Madison (Democratic-Republican)	122
Clinton (Democratic-Republican)	6
Pinckney (Federalist)	47

- 1810 Macon Bill No. 2.
 Madison's proclamation putting West Florida under the jurisdiction of the United States.
 Madison's proclamation that French edicts were withdrawn (November 2).
 Napoleon's continued seizure of American vessels in French ports.
- 1811 Expiration of charter of first National Bank.
 Introduction of steamboat to Mississippi river trade.

274 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

- President-Little Belt* affair (May 16).
 Battle of Tippecanoe (November 7).
 1812 Admission of Louisiana to the Union.
 Announcement of intention to repeal
 British orders in council (June 7).
 War declared on Great Britain (June 18).

JAMES MADISON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1813-1817.

- Vice-president — Elbridge Gerry.
 Election of 1812:
 Madison (Democratic-Republican) 128
 Clinton (Democratic-Republican) 89
 1812-1815 War of 1812.
 1812 Hull's campaign against Fort Malden
 ends in surrender at Detroit (August).
 Harrison's campaign against Fort Mal-
 den.
 1813 War in West.
 Harrison defeated at Raisin river (Janu-
 ary 22).
 Perry's victory on Lake Erie (September
 10).
 British defeated at Thames river (Octo-
 ber 5).
 Capture of Mobile bay.
 War in East.
 Wilkinson's campaign against Canada by
 way of St. Lawrence fails.
 1814 War in East.
 Battle of Lundy's Lane — end of inva-
 sion of Canada by way of Niagara
 (July 25).

Battle of Plattsburg — halting of British invasion of New York (September 11).

War in South.

Capture of Washington (August 24).

Abandonment of attack on Baltimore (September 14).

War in West.

Battle of Horseshoe Bend (March 29).

Treaty of peace (December 24).

1815 Adjournment of Hartford Convention (January 5).

Battle of New Orleans (January 8).

1816 Incorporation of Second National Bank.
Tariff of 1816.

Indiana admitted to the Union.

1817 Veto of Bonus Bill.

JAMES MONROE, VIRGINIA, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
1817-1821.

Vice-president — D. D. Tompkins.

Election of 1816:

Monroe (Democratic-Republican) 183

King (Federalist) 34

1817 Mississippi admitted to the Union.

National Road to Ohio finished.

1818 Trouble with Seminole Indians in Florida.

Establishment of 49th parallel as boundary between United States and Canada.

Beginning of joint occupation of Oregon.

Illinois admitted to the Union.

1819 Purchase of Florida.

276 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

- McCulloch versus Maryland. The Dartmouth College case.
Alabama admitted to the Union.
1820 Act regarding sales of public land fixing price of \$1.25 per acre.
Missouri Compromise.
Maine admitted to the Union.

JAMES MONROE, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1821-1825.

- Vice-president — D. D. Tompkins.
Election of 1820:
Monroe (Democratic-Republican) 231
Adams (Democratic-Republican) 1
1821 Missouri admitted to the Union.
1823 Monroe Doctrine.
1824 Tariff of 1824.
Gibbons versus Ogden.
Defeat of "King Caucus."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, MASSACHUSETTS, 1825-1829.

- Vice-president — John C. Calhoun.
Election of 1824:
Jackson 99 152,901
Adams 84 114,023
Crawford 41 46,979
Clay 37 47,217
1825 Election of Adams by House of Representatives.
Completion of the Erie Canal.
1826 Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (Both on July 4).
1827 Woolens tariff bill.

CHRONOLOGY

277

1828 Tariff of Abominations.
 South Carolina's *Exposition*.
 Breaking of ground for the B. and O.
 railroad.

ANDREW JACKSON, TENNESSEE, FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1829-1833.

Vice-president — John C. Calhoun.

Election of 1828:

Jackson (Anti-Adminis- tration)	178	647,276
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Adams (Administration)83	508,064
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1829 Removal of office holders.

Break between Calhoun and Jackson.

1830 Webster-Hayne Debate (January 21
26).

Jackson's "Union" toast (April 13).

Veto of Maysville road bill.

1831 *Liberator* founded by Garrison.

First national nominating convention in
United States, Anti-Masonic party.

1832	First national convention of Democratic party adopts two-thirds rule (May 22).
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Veto by Jackson of bill to recharter National Bank (July 10).

Tariff of 1832 (July 14).

Adoption of Ordinance of Nullification by
South Carolina convention (November
24).

Jackson's nullification proclamation (December 10).

1833 Compromise of 1833 (March 3).

278 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

ANDREW JACKSON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1833-1837.

Vice-president — Martin Van Buren.

Election of 1832:

Jackson (Democratic)	219	687,502
Clay (National Republi- can)	49	530,189
Floyd	11	
Wirt (Anti-Masonic)	7	

1832-1835 Removal of Southern Indians to Indian Territory.

1833 Removal of deposits.

1834 Jackson censured by Senate.

National debt completely paid off.

Invention of reaper by McCormick.

1835-1836 Texas revolution.

1836 Passage of act for distribution of surplus.

Jackson's specie circular.

Passage of "Gag Rule" by House of Representatives.

Michigan and Arkansas admitted to the Union.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, NEW YORK, 1837-1841.

Vice-president — Richard M. Johnson.

Election of 1836:

Van Buren (Democratic)	170	762,978
Harrison (Whig)	73	544,921
White (Whig)	26	145,396
Webster (Whig)	14	41,287
Mangum (Whig)	11	

1837 Panic of 1837.

- 1840 Adoption of subtreasury system.
Cunard Line puts on regular steam packets New York to Liverpool.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, OHIO, MARCH 4, 1841-
APRIL 4, 1841.

JOHN TYLER, VIRGINIA, APRIL 4, 1841-1845.

Election of 1840:

Harrison (Whig) 234 1,275,016

Van Buren (Democrat) 60 1,129,102

- 1841 Death of President Harrison (April 4).
Struggle between Tyler and the Whig leaders.

Frustration of the Whig plans.

- 1842 Tariff of 1842.

Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

- 1843 Beginning of the great migration to Oregon.

- 1844 Caravan of 1,000 persons starts for Oregon.

Demonstration of telegraph by Morse.

First process for vulcanizing rubber patented by Goodyear.

Calhoun appointed Secretary of State

- 1845 Annexation of Texas.

Texas and Florida admitted to the Union.

Government aid to steam ocean navigation.

JAMES K. POLK, TENNESSEE, 1845-1849.

Vice-president — George M. Dallas.

Election of 1844:

280 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

	Polk (Democrat)	170	1,337,243
	Clay (Whig)	105	1,299,062
	Birney (Liberty)		62,300
1845	Frémont's reports of his exploring expeditions in the Rocky Mountains.		
1845-1847	Famine in Ireland and climax of Irish emigration to America.		
1846	Abrogation of British corn laws.		
	Acquisition of Oregon (July 17).		
	Iowa admitted to the Union.		
1846	Declaration of war against Mexico (May 12).		
1846-1848	War with Mexico.		
1846	Conquest of California.		
	General Taylor reaches Victoria, point of farthest advance (December 29).		
	Wilmot Proviso introduced into Congress.		
1847	Battle of Buena Vista (February 23).		
	General Scott in possession of Mexico City (September 14).		
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (February 2).		
	Discovery of gold in California.		
	Wisconsin admitted to the Union.		
	First Mormon settlement at Salt Lake City.		

ZACHARY TAYLOR, LOUISIANA, MARCH 4, 1849-
JULY 9, 1850.

MILLARD FILLMORE, NEW YORK, JULY 9, 1850-1853.

Election of 1848:

Taylor (Whig)	163	1,360,099
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	Cass (Democrat)	127	1,220,544
	Van Buren (Free Soil)		291,263
1849	Suppression of Revolution of 1848 in Germany and emigration of political exiles to America.		
	Gold rush to California.		
1850	Death of Calhoun.		
	Death of President Taylor.		
	Compromise of 1850.		
	California admitted to the Union.		
	Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.		
1851	Enforcement of Fugitive Slave Law stirs anti-slavery element in North.		
1852	<i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> .		
	Death of Clay.		
	Death of Webster.		
	Origin of "Knowing-Nothing" party.		
FRANKLIN PIERCE, NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1853-1857.			
	Vice-president — William R. King.		
	Election of 1852:		
	Pierce (Democrat)	254	1,601,474
	Scott (Whig)	42	1,386,580
1853	Completion of all-rail route from Chicago to the Atlantic coast.		
	Perry opens the ports of Japan.		
	Gadsden Purchase.		
1854	Kansas-Nebraska Act.		
	Founding of Republican party.		
	Ostend Manifesto.		
1854-1858	Struggle for Kansas.		
1856	Passing of Whig party.		

282 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

JAMES BUCHANAN, PENNSYLVANIA, 1857-1861.

Vice-president — John C. Breckenridge.

Election of 1856:

Buchanan (Democrat) 174 1,838,169

Fremont (Republican) 114 1,341,264

Fillmore (Know-Noth-
ing) 8 874,534

1857 Panic of 1857.

Filibustering in Nicaragua.

Dred Scott decision.

1858 Minnesota admitted to the Union.

Lincoln-Douglas debates.

1859 Oregon admitted into the Union.

First oil well, Venango County, Pennsylv-
vania.

Southern commercial convention, Vicks-
burg.

John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry.

1860 Lincoln's Cooper Union Speech.

Secession of South Carolina.

Failure of the Crittenden Compromise.

1861 Kansas admitted to the Union.

Organization of the Confederate States
of America.

Jefferson Davis elected president of the
Confederacy.

Morrill tariff.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, ILLINOIS, FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1861-1865.

Vice-president — Hannibal Hamlin.

Election of 1860:

	Lincoln (Republican)	180	1,866,452
	Douglas (Democrat, Northern)	12	1,376,957
	Breckenridge (Democrat, Southern)	72	849,781
	Bell (Constitutional Union)	39	588,879
1861	Attack on Sumter (April 12).		
	Declaration of blockade (April 19).		
	Battle of Bull Run (July 21).		
	<i>Trent</i> affair (November 8).		
1862	Surrender of Fort Donelson (February 16).		
	Battle of <i>Monitor</i> and <i>Merrimac</i> (March 9).		
	Battle of Shiloh (April 6-7).		
	Capture of New Orleans (April 25).		
	Homestead Act (May 10).		
	Seven Days' Battles (June 26-July 1).		
	Second Bull Run (August 29).		
	Battle of Antietam (September 17).		
	Battle of Fredericksburg (December 13).		
1863	Emancipation Proclamation (January 1).		
	National Bank Act (February 25).		
	Battle of Chancellorsville (May 2-4).		
	West Virginia admitted to the Union (June 19).		
	Battle of Gettysburg (July 1-3).		
	Surrender of Vicksburg (July 4).		
	Draft riots in New York (July 13-16).		
	Battle of Chickamauga (September 19- 20).		
	Gettysburg Address (November 19).		

- Battle of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge (November 23-25).
 1864 Battles in the Wilderness (May 5-21).
 Battle of Cold Harbor (June 3).
Keersarge and Alabama (June 19).
 Capture of Mobile bay (August 5).
 Capture of Atlanta (September 3).
 Battle of Nashville (December 15-16).
 Sherman's capture of Savannah (December 20).
 Nevada admitted to the Union.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
MARCH 4, 1865-APRIL 15, 1865.

ANDREW JOHNSON, TENNESSEE, APRIL 15, 1865-1869.

				Soldier vote
	Election of 1864:			
	Lincoln	212	2,213,665	116,887
	(Republican)			
	McClellan	21	1,802,237	33,748
	(Democrat)			
1865	Creation of the Freedmen's Bureau (March 3).			
	Surrender of Lee (April 9).			
	Assassination of Lincoln (April 14).			
	Amnesty proclamation (May 29).			
	Thirteenth amendment to Constitution proclaimed (December 18).			
	Congress refuses to receive Senators and Representatives from South (December).			
1866	Laying of Atlantic cable.			

Johnson vetoes Freedmen's Bureau Bill
(February 19).

Civil Rights Act passed over Johnson's
veto (April 6).

Fourteenth Amendment sent to states
for ratification (June 13).

Victory of Radical Republicans in Con-
gressional elections (September, Octo-
ber, November).

1867 Organization of Ku Klux Klan.
Nebraska admitted to the Union (March
1).

Radical Reconstruction Act (March 2).

Tenure of Office Act (March 2).

Overthrow of Maximilian in Mexico.

Purchase of Alaska.

1868 Beginning of negro rule.
President Johnson impeached (February
24).

Johnson acquitted (May 26).

Fourteenth Amendment proclaimed
(July 28).

ULYSSES S. GRANT, ILLINOIS, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
1869-1873.

Vice-president — Schuyler Colfax.

Election of 1868:

Grant (Republican) 214 3,012,833

Seymour (Democrat) 80 2,703,249

1869 Completion of Union Pacific Railroad.
"Black Friday" scandal (September 24).

Knights of Labor founded.

Formal disbanding of Ku Klux Klan.

- 1870 Failure of San Domingo Treaty.
Fifteenth Amendment (Negro Suffrage).
Proposed 1869.
First Force Act.
Organization of Standard Oil Company.
Franco-Prussian War.
- 1871 Indian Reservation System.
Ku Klux Act (Second Force Act).
Treaty of Washington with Great Britain
for settlement of *Alabama* claims by
arbitration.
Overthrow of Tweed Ring in New York.
- 1872 Amnesty Act.
Geneva Tribunal award for *Alabama*
claims.
United States gets rights in Pago Pago
harbor in Samoan Islands.
Liberal Republican Movement.
Credit Mobilier investigation (ends 1873).

ULYSSES S. GRANT, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
1873-1877.

Vice-president — Henry Wilson.

Election of 1872:

Grant (Republican)	286	3,597,132
Greeley	47	2,834,125
(Liberal Republican and Democrat)		

- 1873 Salary Grab.
Omission of silver dollar from list of coins
("Crime of '73").
Panic of 1873.
Slaughter House Cases (Fourteenth
Amendment).

- Discovery of silver mines in Nevada.
Virginus affair with Spain..
- 1874 Height of Granger Movement.
 Railroad rate-war in East; start of pooling agreements.
 Democratic majority in Congressional elections. ("Tidal Wave of '74.")
 412.5 grains of silver worth less than 100 cents on the market.
- Whiskey Ring.
- 1875 Belknap investigation.
 Civil Rights Bill.
- Reciprocity Agreement with Hawaii.
- 1876 Resumption Act.
 Sioux Indian War (Custer, Sitting Bull).
 Bell Telephone.
 Admission of Colorado.
- Disputed presidential election.
- 1877 Electoral Commission reaches decision (March 2).

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, OHIO, 1877-1881.

Vice-president — William A. Wheeler.

		<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>
Election of 1876:		<i>Count</i>	<i>Count</i>
Hayes	185	4,033,768	4,036,298
(Republican)			
Tilden	184	4,285,992	4,300,590
(Democrat)			
Cooper		81,737	
(Greenback)			

- 1877 Withdrawal of troops from the South
(End of Reconstruction).
Railroad and coal strikes.
Granger Cases (Munn versus Illinois).
- 1878 Bland-Allison Silver Act.
First appearance of "Solid South" in
Congressional elections.
- 1879 Resumption of specie payment for green-
backs.
Arrears of Pension Act.
Edison invents incandescent electric light.
- 1880 Start of surplus in Treasury; reappear-
ance of tariff issue.
Treaty with China.
- 1880-1884 Development of the electric railway.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, OHIO, MARCH 3-SEPTEMBER 19,
1881.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 19,
1881-1885.

Election of 1880:

	Garfield (Republican)	214	4,454,416
	Hancock (Democrat)	155	4,444,952
	Weaver (Greenback)		308,578
1881	Star Route Frauds exposed.		
	Resignations of Senators Conkling and Platt.		
	Assassination and death of President Garfield (July 2-September 19).		
1882	Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act.		
	Chinese Exclusion Act.		
	Standard Oil Trust organized.		

- 1883 Pendleton Act (Civil Service Reform).
Tariff of 1883.
Civil Rights Cases.
- 1884 National Bureau of Labor established.
Mugwump Movement.

GROVER CLEVELAND, NEW YORK, FIRST ADMINIS-
TRATION, 1885-1889.

Vice-president — T. A. Hendricks.

Election of 1884:

Cleveland (Democrat)	219	4,874,986
Blaine (Republican)	182	4,851,981
Butler (Greenback)		175,370
St. John (Prohibition)		150,396

- 1886 Chicago strikes and Haymarket riot.
High-water mark of Knights of Labor.
American Federation of Labor estab-
lished.
Santa Clara County Case; Wabash Rail-
road versus Illinois (Fourteenth Amend-
ment).
- 1887 Interstate Commerce Act.
Dawes Indian Land-in-Severalty Act.
Cleveland's tariff message.
- 1887-1888 Mills tariff bill debate in Congress.
- 1888-1889 Samoan crisis; hurricane; establishment
of triple condominium.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, INDIANA, 1889-1893.

Vice-president — Levi P. Morton.

Election of 1888:

Harrison (Republican)	233	5,439,853
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	Cleveland (Democrat)	168	5,540,329
	Fisk (Prohibition)		249,506
1889	Admission of North and South Dakota, Montana and Washington to the Union Pan-American Conference. "Czar" Reed Speaker of the House.		
1890	Dependent Pension Bill. Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Sherman Silver Act. McKinley Tariff Act. Admission of Idaho and Wyoming to the Union.		
1891	Forest Reserve Act (Start of Conserva- tion Policy). Origin of People's or Populist Party. Cleveland's Reform Club letter against free silver. Mafia episode in New Orleans.		
1892	Homestead strike. Treaty with Great Britain submitting Bering Sea claims to arbitration (set- tled 1893). Valparaiso riot during civil war in Chili.		
1893	Revolution in Hawaii; provisional "Dole" government.		

GROVER CLEVELAND, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
1893-1897.

Vice-president — Adlai E. Stevenson.
Election of 1892:

Cleveland (Democrat)	277	5,556,543
Harrison (Republican)	145	5,175,582
Weaver (Populist)	22	1,040,886

- 1893 Cleveland withdraws treaty for annexation of Hawaii from Senate.
Panic of 1893.
Repeal of Sherman Silver Purchase Act.
Chicago "World's Fair."
- 1894 First sale of bonds for gold (January).
Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act.
Coxey's "Army."
Pullman strike.
Second sale of bonds for gold (November).
Publication of Coin's "Financial School."
Organization of Silver Movement.
- 1895 Supreme Court declares Income Tax unconstitutional.
Third sale of bonds for gold. Morgan-Belmont agreement.
Cleveland's Venezuela message.
Insurrection starts in Cuba.
- 1896 Fourth sale of bonds for gold, by popular subscription.
Utah admitted to the Union.
Discovery of gold in Klondike region of Alaska.
Weyler's "Reconcentration Policy" in Cuba.
- 1897 Agreement to settle Venezuela-Great Britain dispute by arbitration (settled 1899).

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, OHIO, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
1897-1901.

Vice-president — Garret A. Hobart.
Election of 1896:

	McKinley (Republican)	271	7,111,607
	Bryan (Democrat and Populist)	176	6,509,052
	Palmer (“Gold Democrat”)		134,645
	Levering (Prohibition)		131,312
1897	Dingley Tariff Act.		
1898	“Grandfather Clause” in Louisiana.		
	Spanish American War.		
	Publication of the De Lome letter (February 9).		
	Sinking of the <i>Maine</i> (February 15).		
	News that Spain consents to armistice in Cuba (April 10).		
	McKinley’s message to Congress on Cuba (April 11).		
	Congressional resolutions demanding Spanish withdrawal from Cuba (April 19).		
	War declared on Spain (April 25).		
	Dewey’s victory at Manila Bay (May 1).		
	Cervera’s fleet in Santiago Harbor (May 19).		
	Battle of Las Guasimas (June 24).		
	Battles of El Caney and San Juan (July 1-2).		
	Navy victory at Santiago (July 3).		
	Annexation of Hawaii (July 7).		
	Surrender of Santiago (July 15).		
	Miles lands in Porto Rico (July 26).		
	Suspension of hostilities (August 12).		

- 1899 Capture of Manila (August 13).
Peace treaty signed (December 10).
First Hague Conference.
Start of Philippine Insurrection (Lasts till 1902).
- 1900 Gold Standard Currency Act.
Foraker Act; civil government in Porto Rico.
United States and Germany divide Samoan Islands.
Boxer Rebellion in China; United States participates in allied intervention; Open Door Policy.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
MARCH 3—SEPTEMBER 14, 1901.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, N. Y., FIRST ADMINISTRATION, SEPTEMBER 14, 1901—1905.

Election of 1900:

McKinley (Republican)	292	7,219,525
Bryan (Democrat)	155	6,358,737
Woolley (Prohibition)		209,157
Debs (Socialist Democrat)		94,864
Malloney (Socialist Labor)		33,432

- 1901 Platt Amendment (Cuba).
Assassination and death of President McKinley (September 6—14).
United States Steel Corporation.

- Northern Securities Company.
 Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain.
- 1902** Anthracite coal strike.
 Newlands Reclamation Act (Conservation).
 Withdrawal of United States troops from Cuba.
 Decision on canal route through Panama.
 Philippine Act; civil government.
 Blockade of Venezuela; United States' threat to Germany.
- 1903** Establishment of Department of Commerce and Labor; Bureau of Corporations.
 Elkins Railroad Act.
 "Millionaires' Panic."
 Settlement of Alaskan boundary dispute with Great Britain by arbitration.
 Hay-Herran Treaty with Colombia.
 Rejection of treaty by Colombian Senate (August 12).
 Revolution in Panama (November 3).
 United States recognized Republic of Panama (November 6).
 Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty with Panama (November 18).
 Wright Aeroplane.
- 1904** Dissolution of Northern Securities Company ordered by Supreme Court.
 Completion of Pacific Cable.
 San Domingo agreement (treaty signed 1907).

Failure of arbitration treaties with France, Germany, Great Britain due to Senate amendments.

1905 Treaty of Portsmouth (End of Russo-Japanese War).

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
1905-1909.

Vice-president — Charles W. Fairbanks.

Election of 1904:

Roosevelt	336	7,628,785
(Republican)		

Parker	140	5,084,442
(Democrat)		

Debs		402,895
(Socialist)		

Swallow		258,950
(Prohibition)		

Corrigan		33,490
(Socialist Labor)		

1905 Appearance of Industrial Workers of the World ("I. W. W.").

Investigation of New York Life Insurance companies; Hughes.

1906 Hepburn Railroad Act.

Pure Food Law.

Reoccupation in Cuba (Ends 1909).

United States participates in Algeciras Conference.

Japanese excluded from San Francisco schools.

1907 Second Hague Conference.

- Establishment of protectorate over Santo Domingo.
 Panic of 1907.
 Oklahoma admitted to the Union.
 Navy starts round the world (return in 1909).
 Gentleman's agreement with Japan.
 1908 Conservation conference of governors.
 Aldrich-Vreeland Currency Act.
 Failure of arbitration treaties due to Senate amendments.

WILLIAM H. TAFT, OHIO, 1909-1913.

- Vice-president — James S. Sherman.
 Election of 1908:
- | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----------|
| Taft (Republican) | 321 | 7,678,908 |
| Bryan (Democrat) | 162 | 6,409,104 |
| Debs (Socialist) | | 420,793 |
| Chafin (Prohibition) | | 253,840 |
- 1909 Payne-Aldrich Tariff.
 Ballinger-Pinchot controversy.
 Rise of Republican Insurgents.
 Taft's Winona Speech.
- 1910 Mann-Elkins Railroad Act.
 Commerce Court.
 The fight against Speaker Cannon.
 Campaign Fund Act.
 Economy and Efficiency Commission.
 Roosevelt's Ossawatimie speech ("New Nationalism").
 Dynamiting of *Times* Building, Los Angeles.

- 1911** Madero revolution ousts Diaz in Mexico.
 Formation of National Republican Progressive League (La Follette).
 Dissolution of Standard Oil and American Tobacco Trusts.
 Canada rejects Reciprocity Treaty.
 Veto of Underwood tariff bills.
 Failure of comprehensive arbitration treaties with France and England due to Senate amendments.
- 1912** New Mexico and Arizona admitted to the Union.
 Alaskan Organic Act.
 Panama Tolls Act.
 Lawrence strike.
 Pujo Committee "Money Trust" investigation.
 Roosevelt becomes a candidate for the Presidency.
 Split at the Republican Convention (July).
 Formation of Progressive Party (August 5).
 Chinese revolution; Six Power Loan.
- 1913** Murder of Madero; Huerta assumes power in Mexico (February).
 Sixteenth Amendment (income tax) proclaimed.

WOODROW WILSON, NEW JERSEY, FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1913-1917.

Vice-president — Thomas R. Marshall.
 Election of 1912:

	Wilson	435	6,293,019
	(Democrat)		
	Roosevelt	88	4,119,507
	(Progressive)		
	Taft	8	3,484,965
	(Republican)		
	Debs		901,873
	(Socialist)		
	Chafin		207,928
	(Prohibition)		
	Reimer		29,259
	(Socialist Labor)		
1913	Colorado coal strike.		
	Underwood Tariff Act.		
	Federal Reserve Act (Glass-Owen Act).		
	Newlands Act.		
	California alien land Act.		
	Refusal to recognize Huerta.		
	Seventeenth Amendment (Direct Election of Senators).		
1914	Occupation of Vera Cruz (May–November).		
	Conference of “A B C” powers at Niagara Falls.		
	Treaty with Nicaragua.		
	Opening of Panama Canal.		
	Repeal of Panama Tolls Act.		
	Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo (June 28).		
	German invasion of Belgium (August 2).		
	United States’ Proclamation of Neutrality (August 4).		
	Federal Trade Commission Act.		

- Clayton Anti-Trust Act.
Smith Farm Loan Act.
- 1915 Germany proclaims submarine zone
(February 4).
Sinking of the *Lusitania* (May 7).
First *Lusitania* note (May 14).
Second *Lusitania* note (June 9).
Resignation of Secretary Bryan.
Third *Lusitania* note (July 21).
Sinking of *Arabic* (August 19).
German apology.
United States recognizes Carranza gov-
ernment.
Villa rebellion.
United States establishes protectorate in
Hayti.
Formation of League to Enforce Peace.
- 1916 Jones Philippine Act.
United States protectorate in Nicaragua.
Villa's Columbus raid (March 10).
Punitive Expedition to Mexico (March-
July).
National Guard to Mexican Border.
Sinking of *Sussex* (March 24).
Germany's *Sussex* pledge (May).
National Defense Act.
Council of National Defense.
Three Year Naval Building Program.
Adamson Law.
Purchase of Virgin Islands from Denmark.
German peace overture (December).
- 1917 German proclamation enlarging sub-
marine zone (January 31).

300 THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

Diplomatic relations with Germany suspended (February 3).

WOODROW WILSON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1917-1921.

Vice-president — Thomas R. Marshall.

Election of 1916:

Wilson (Democrat)	277	9,129,269
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Hughes (Republican)	254	8,547,528
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Benson (Socialist)		590,579
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Hanly (Prohibition)		221,329
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1917 Declaration of War against Germany (April 6).

Selective Service Act (May).

First Division to France; organization of A. E. F. (June).

Food Administration Act (August 10).

Declaration of War against Austria (December 7).

United States takes over railroads (December 26).

1918 The "Fourteen Points" address (January 8).

German drive commences (March 21).

Overman Act (May 20).

Cantigny (May 28).

Start of Foch counter-offensive (July 18).

Organization of First American Army (August 10).

"Man-power Act." Increase in draft provisions (August 31).

Reduction of St. Mihiel Salient (September 12-16).

Start of Meuse-Argonne Offensive (September 26).

Republican majority in Congressional elections (November 3).

Armistice (November 11).

1919 Eighteenth Amendment (Prohibition) proclaimed.

Signing of Versailles Treaty (June 28).

Rejection of Treaty without amendments by Senate (November 19).

Boston police strike.

Steel strike

1920 Nineteenth Amendment (Woman suffrage) proclaimed.

Esch-Cummins Railroad Act.

Harding elected president.

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